THE

ESSAYS,

OR

Councils, Civil and Moral,

OF

Sir *FRANCIS BACON*,

Lord *Verulam*, Viſcount St. *Alban*.

With a TABLE of the Colours

OF

Good and *Evil*.

And a Diſcourſe

Of the WISDOM of the

ANCIENTS.

To this Edition is added the Character of Queen ELIZABETH; *never before Printed in Engliſh.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Samuel Smith*, and *Benj. Walford*, at the *Princes-Arms*, in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard, 1696.

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TO THE

Right Honourable my very good Lord,

THE

Duke of *Buckingham* his Grace,

LORD HIGH-ADMIRAL

OF

ENGLAND.

Excellent Lord,

SOlomon *says*, A Good Name is a precious Oyntment; *and, I assure my self, such will Your* Grace's *Name be with Posterity; for your* Fortune *and* Merit, *both have been Eminent; and You have planted things that are like to last.* I *do now publish my* Essays; *which, of all my other* Works, *have been most current: For that, as it seems, they come home to Men's* Business, *and* Bosoms. *I have enlarged them both in* Number *and* Weight;

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ſo that they are indeed a New work. *I thought it therefore agreeable to my Affection, and Obligation to* Your Grace, *to prefix your Name before them, both in* Engliſh *and* Latin: *For I do conceive, that the* Latin *Volume of them, (being in the* Univerſal Language) *may laſt as long as* Books *laſt. My* Inſtauration *I dedicated to the* King; *my* Hiſtory *of* Henry *the Seventh (which I have now alſo tranſlated into* Latin) *and my* Portions *of* Natural Hiſtory *to the* Prince. *And theſe I dedicate to* Your Grace, *being of the* beſt Fruits, *that, by the good increaſe which* God *gives to my Pen and Labours, I could yield.* God *lead* Your Grace *by the hand.*

Your Graces moſt obliged

and Faithful Servant,

Fr. St. ALBAN

Elogies on the Illuſtrious Author.

Ben. Johnſon, in his *Diſcoveries*, p. 101.

THere happened in my time, one Noble Speaker [Lord *Verulam*] who was full of gravity in his ſpeaking. His Language (where he could ſpare or paſs by a jeſt) was nobly cenſorious. No Man ever ſpake more neatly, more preſtly, more weightily, or ſuffered leſs emptineſs, leſs Idleneſs in what he uttered. No member of his Speech but conſiſted of his own graces. His Hearers could not cough or look aſide from him without loſs. He commanded where he ſpoke; and had his Judges angry and pleaſed at his devotion. No Man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him, was, leſt he ſhould make an end. *And afterwards*, Lord *Egerton*, the Chancellor, a great and grave Orator, *&c.* But his Learned and able, (though unfortunate) Succeſſor, [Lord *Bacon*] is he, who hath filled up all members, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compar'd or prefer'd, either to inſolent *Greece* or haughty *Rome*. In ſhort, within his view, and about his times, were all the Wits born, that could honour a Language or help ſtudy. Now things daily fall; Wits grow downward, and Eloquence goes backward: So that he may be nam d and ſtand as the mark and ἀκμὴ of our Language.

And a little after, My conceit of his Perſon was never increaſed toward him, by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for the greatneſs that was only proper to himſelf, in that he ſeem'd to me ever by his work, one of the greateſt Men, and moſt worthy of admiration, that had been in many Ages. In his Adverſity I ever prayed, that God would give him ſtrength, for greatneſs he could not want. Neither could

could I condole in a word or ſyllable for him; as knowing no Accident could do harm to Vertue, but rather help to make it manifeſt.

A. Cowley, in his Poem to the Royal Society, after ſome reflections upon the State of *Philoſophy* aforetime, goes on.

SOme few exalted Spirits this latter Age has ſhown,
That labour'd to aſſert the Liberty
(From Guardians, who were now Uſurpers grown)
Of this Old Minor *ſtill, Captiv'd Philoſophy;*
But twas Rebellion call'd to fight
For ſuch a long oppreſſed Right.
BACON *at laſt, a mighty Man, aroſe,*
Whom a wiſe King and Nature choſe
Lord Chancellor of both their Laws,
And boldly undertook the injur'd Pupils cauſe.

III.

Authority, which did a Body boaſt,
Though twas but Air condens'd, and ſtalk'd about;
Like ſome old Giants more Gigantic Ghoſt;
To terrifie the Learned Rout
With the plain Magick of true Reaſons Light,
He chac'd out of our ſight,
Nor ſuffer'd Living Men to be miſled
By the vain ſhadows of the Dead:
To Graves from whence it roſe, the conquer'd Phantome fled;
He broke that Monſtrous God which ſtood
In midſt of th' Orchard, and the whole did claim,
Which with a uſeleſs Sithe of Wood,
And ſomething elſe not worth a name,
(Both vaſt for ſhew, yet neither fit
Or to Defend, or to Beget;

Ridiculous

Ridiculous and ſenceleſs Terrors!) made
Children and ſuperſtitious Men afraid.
The Orchard's open now, and free;
BACON *has broke that Scare-crow Deity;*
Come, enter, all that will,
Behold the rip'ned Fruit, come gather now your fill.
Yet ſtill, methinks, we fain would be
Catching at the Forbidden Tree,
We would be like the Deitie,
When Truth and Falſhood, Good and Evil, we
Without the Sences aid within our ſelves would ſee;
For 'tis God only who can find
All Nature in his Mind.

IV.

From Words, which are but Pictures of the Thought,
(Though we our Thoughts from them perverſly drew)
To Things, the Minds right Object, he it brought,
Like fooliſh Birds to painted Grapes we flew;
He ſought and gather'd for our uſe the True;
And when on heaps the choſen Bunches lay,
He preſt them wiſely the Mechanic way,
Till all their juyce did in one Veſſel joyn,
Ferment into a Nouriſhment Divine,
The thirſty Souls refreſhing Wine.
Who to the Life an exact Piece would make,
Muſt not from others Work a Copy take;
No, not from Rubens *or* Vandike;
Much leſs content himſelf to make it like
Th' Idæas and the Images which lie
In his own Fancy, or his Memory.
No, he before his ſight muſt place
The Natural and Living Face;
The real Object muſt command
Each Judgment of his Eye, and Motion of his Hand.

V.

From these long Errors of the way,
In which our wandring Predecessors went,
And like th' old Hebrews *many years did stray*
In desarts but of small extent,
BACON, *like* Moses, *led us forth at last,*
The barren Wilderness he past,
Did on the very Border stand,
Of the blest promis'd Land,
And from the Mountains Top of his Exalted Wit,
Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.
But life did never to one Man allow
Time to Discover Worlds, and Conquer too;
Nor can so short a Li[illegible] sufficient be
To fathom the vast depths of Natures Sea:
The work he did we ought t' admire,
And were unjust if we should more require
From his few years, divided 'twixt th' Excess
Of low Affliction, and high Happiness:
For who on things remote can fix his sight,
That's always in a Triumph, or a fight?

A. Cowley.

ESSAYS.

I.

Of Truth.

WHAT is *Truth?* ſaid jeſting *Pilate*, and would not ſtay for an anſwer. Certainly there be that delight in giddineſs, and count it a Bondage to fix a Belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the Sects of Philoſophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain diſcourſing Wits, which are of the ſame Veins, though there be not ſo much Blood in them, as was in thoſe of the Ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour, which men take in finding out of *Truth*; nor again, that when it is found, it impoſeth upon Mens thoughts, that doth bring *Lyes* in favour; but a natural, though corrupt Love, of the *Lye* it ſelf. One of the later Schools of the *Grecians* examineth the matter, and is at a ſtand, to think what ſhould be in it, that Men ſhould love *Lyes*; where neither they make for pleaſure, as with Poets, nor for Advantage, as with the Merchant, but for the *Lyes* ſake. But I cannot tell. This ſame *Truth* is a Naked and Open day-light, that doth not ſhew the Masks, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the World, half ſo ſtately and daintily as Candle-light. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearl, that ſheweth beſt by day; but it will not riſe to the price of

a Diamond or Carbuncle, that ſheweth beſt in varied Lights. A mixture of a *Lye* doth ever add pleaſure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Mens minds vain Opinions, flattering Hopes, falſe Valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the minds of a number of Men, poor ſhrunken things, full of melancholy and indiſpoſition, and unpleaſing to themſelves? One of the Fathers in great ſeverity called Poeſie, *Vinum Dæmonum*, becauſe it filleth the Imagination, and yet it is but with the ſhadow of a *Lye*. But it is not the *Lye* that paſſeth through the mind, but the *Lye* that ſinketh in, and ſettleth in it, that doth the hurt, ſuch as we ſpake of before. But howſoever theſe things are thus in Mens depraved judgments and affections; yet *Truth*, which only doth judge it ſelf, teacheth, that the enquiry of *Truth*, which is the love-making, or wooing of it: the knowledge of *Truth*, which is the preſence of it: and the belief of *Truth*, which is the enjoying of it, is the ſoveraign good of Humane Nature. The firſt Creature of God in the works of the Days, was Light of the Senſe; the laſt was the Light of Reaſon; and his Sabbath-Work ever ſince, is the illumination of his Spirit. Firſt, he breathed light upon the face of the Matter or Chaos; then he breathed light into the face of Man; and ſtill he breatheth and inſpireth light into the face of his Choſen. The Poet that beautified the Sect, that was otherwiſe inferiour to the reſt, ſaith yet excellently well: *It is a pleaſure to ſtand upon the ſhore, and to ſee Ships toſt upon the Sea; a pleaſure to ſtand in the Window of a Caſtle, and to ſee a Battel, and the adventure thereof below: but no pleaſure is comparable to the ſtanding upon the vantage-ground of Truth:* (an Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and ſerene:) *and to ſee the Errors, and Wandrings, and Miſts, and Tempeſts in the Vale below:* So always that this proſpect be with Pity, and not with ſwelling or Pride. Certainly it is Heaven upon Earth, to have a Mans mind move in Charity, reſt in Providence, and turn upon the Poles of *Truth*.

To

To paſs from Theological and Philoſophical *Truth*, to the *Truth* of Civil buſineſs, it will be acknowledged, even by thoſe that practiſe it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of Mans nature, and that mixture of falſhood is like allay in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaſeth it. For theſe winding and crooked courſes are the goings of the Serpent, which goeth baſely upon the Belly, and not upon the feet. There is no Vice that doth ſo cover a Man with ſhame, as to be found falſe and perfidious. And therefore *Mountaigne* ſaith prettily, when he enquired the reaſon, Why the word of the *Lye* ſhould be ſuch a diſgrace, and ſuch an odious charge: Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To ſay that a Man lyeth, is as much as to ſay, that he is a Brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lye* faces God, and ſhrinks from Man. Surely the wickedneſs and Falſhood, and breach of Faith, cannot poſſibly be ſo highly expreſſed, as in that it ſhall be the laſt Peal, to call the Judgments of God upon the Generations of Men; it being foretold, that when Chriſt cometh, *He ſhall not find faith upon the Earth.*

II.

Of Death.

MEN fear *Death*, as Children fear to go in the dark: And as that natural fear in Children is encreaſed with Tales, ſo is the other. Certainly the contemplation of *Death*, as the *wages of ſin*, and paſſage to another World, is Holy and Religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in religious Meditations, there is ſometimes a mixture of vanity and ſuperſtition. You ſhall read in ſome of the Friers Books of *Mortification*, that a Man ſhould think with himſelf, what the pain is, if he have but his fingers end preſſed

or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of *Death* are, when the whole body is corrupted and diſſolved; when many times *Death* paſſeth with leſs pain, than the torture of a Limb: For the moſt Vital parts are not the quickeſt of Senſe. And by him that ſpake only as a Philoſopher, and natural man, it was well ſaid; *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam Mors ipſa,* Groans, and Convulſions, and diſcoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blacks, and Obſequies, and the like, ſhew *Death* terrible. It is worthy the obſerving, that there is no paſſion in the mind of Man ſo weak, but it mates and maſters the fear of *Death:* and therefore *Death* is no ſuch terrible Enemy, when a Man hath ſo many attendants about him, that can win the combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death*; *Love* ſlights it; *Honour* aſpireth to it; *Grief* flieth to it; *Fear* pre-occupateth it. Nay we read, after *Otho* the Emperor had ſlain himſelf, *Pity* (which is the tendereſt of Affections) provoked many to die, out of meer compaſſion to their Soveraign, and as the trueſt ſort of Followers. Nay, *Seneca* adds *Niceneſs* and *Satiety*; *Cogita quandiu eadem faceres; Mori velle, non tantum Fortis, aut Miſer, ſed etiam Faſtidioſus poteſt.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miſerable, only upon a wearineſs to do the ſame thing ſo oft over and over. It is no leſs worthy to obſerve, how little alteration in good Spirits the approaches of *Death* make. For they appear to be the ſame Men till the laſt inſtant. *Auguſtus Cæſar* died in a complement; *Livia, Conjugii noſtri memor, vive, & vale. Tiberius* in Diſſimulation, as *Tacitus* ſaith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires, & Corpus, non Diſſimulatio deſerebant. Veſpaſian* in a jeſt, ſitting upon the ſtool; *Ut puto, Deus fio. Galba* with a Sentence; *Feri, ſi ex re ſit populi Romani,* holding forth his neck. *Septimius Severus* in diſpatch; *Adeſte, ſi quid mihi reſtat agendum.* And the like. Certainly the *Stoicks* beſtowed too much coſt upon *Death,* and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. *Better,* ſaith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat Naturæ.*

It

It is as natural to die, as to be born; and to a little infant perhaps the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earneſt purſuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who for the time ſcarce feels the hurt; and therefore a Mind fixt, and bent upon ſomewhat that is good, doth avert the dolours of *Death*. But above all, believe it, the ſweeteſt Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, when a Man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. *Death* hath this alſo; that it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguiſheth Envy.

——*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

III.

Of Unity in Religion.

Religion being the chief band of Humane Society, it is a happy thing when it ſelf is well contained within the true band of *Unity*. The Quarrels and Diviſions about *Religion* were Evils unknown to the Heathen. The reaſon was, becauſe the Religion of the Heathen conſiſted rather in Rites and Ceremonies, than in any conſtant belief. For you may imagine what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, that he is a *Jealous* God, and therefore his Worſhip and *Religion* will endure no mixture or *Partner*. We ſhall therefore ſpeak a few words concerning the *Unity* of the *Church*; *What are the Fruits thereof, what the Bonds, and what the Means.*

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well-pleaſing of God, which is All in All) are two; the one towards thoſe that are *without the Church*, the other towards thoſe that are *within*. For the former, It is certain, that Hereſies and Schiſms are of all others the greateſt Scandals, yea, more than corruption of Manners. For as in the Natural Body, a Wound or Solution of continuity, is worſe than

a corrupt Humour; ſo in the Spiritual. So that nothing doth ſo much keep Men out of the Church, and drive men out of the Church as a breach of *Unity:* And therefore whenſoever it cometh to that paſs, that one ſaith, *Ecce in deſerto,* another ſaith, *Ecce in penetralibus;* that is, when ſome Men ſeek Chriſt in the Conventicles of Hereticks, and others in an outward face of a Church, that Voice had need continually to ſound in Mens Ears, *Nolite exire, Go not out.* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whoſe vocation drew him to have a ſpecial care of thoſe *without)* ſaith, *If an Heathen come in and hear you ſpeak with ſeveral Tongues, will he not ſay that you are mad?* and certainly it is little better, when Atheiſts and prophane perſons do hear of ſo many diſcordant and contrary Opinions in *Religion;* it doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them *to ſit down in the Chair of the Scorners.* It is but a light thing to be vouched in ſo ſerious a matter, but yet it expreſſeth well the deformity. There is a Maſter of Scoffing, that in his Catalogue of Books of a feigned Library, ſets down this Title of a Book, *The Morrice-dance of Hereticks.* For indeed every Sect of them hath a diverſe poſture, or cringe by themſelves, which cannot but move deriſion in Worldings, and depraved Politicks who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the *Fruit toward thoſe that are within.* It is *Peace,* where containeth infinite Bleſſings; it eſtabliſheth Faith; it kindleth Charity; the outward peace of the Church diſtilleth into peace of Conſcience; and it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controverſies, into Treatiſes of *Mortification* and *Devotion.*

Concerning the *Bonds of Unity,* the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extreams. For to certain *Zelots* all ſpeech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace,* Jehu? *What haſt thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me. Peace* is not the matter, but *following* a *party.* Contrariwiſe certain *Laodiceans,* and lukewarm perſons, think they may accommodate points

of

of *Religion* by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and Man. But theſe extreams are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Chriſtians, penned by our Saviour himſelf, were in the two croſs clauſes thereof, ſoundly and plainly expounded. *He that is not with us, is againſt us:* And again, *He that is not againſt us, is with us:* That is, if the points Fundamental, and of Subſtance in *Religion*, were truly diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed from points not meerly of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a thing may ſeem to many a matter trivial, and done already; but if it were done leſs partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my ſmall model: Men ought to take heed of rendring God's Church by two kinds of controverſies: The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too ſmall and light, not worth the heat and ſtrife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers, *Chriſt's Coat indeed had no ſeam, but the Churches Veſture was of divers colours*; whereupon he ſaith, *In veſte varietas ſit, ſciſſura non ſit*; they be two things, *Unity* and *Uniformity*. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great ſubtilty and obſcurity, ſo that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than ſubſtantial. A Man that is of judgment and underſtanding, ſhall ſometimes hear ignorant Men differ, and know well within himſelf, that thoſe which ſo differ, mean one thing, and yet they themſelves would never agree. And if it come ſo to paſs, in that diſtance of judgment which is between Man and Man, ſhall we not think, that God above, that knows the heart, doth not diſcern that frail Men in ſome of their contradictions intend the ſame thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of ſuch controverſies is excellently expreſſed by St. *Paul*, in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the ſame, *Devita pro-*

fanas vocum novitates, & oppoſitiones falſi nominis ſcientiæ; Men create oppoſitions which are not, and put them into new terms ſo fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be alſo two falſe *Peaces*, or *Unities*; the one, when the *Peace* is grounded but upon an implicite ignorance; for all Colours will agree in the dark: the other when it is pieced up upon a direct admiſſion of contraries in Fundamental points. For Truth and Falſhood in ſuch things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's Image*, they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the *Means of procuring Unity*; Men muſt beware, that in the procuring or muniting of *Religious Unity*, they do not diſſolve and deface the Laws of Charity, and of Humane Society. There be two Swords amongſt Chriſtians, the Spiritual and Temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of *Religion*. But we may not take up the third Sword, which is *Mahomet's* Sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate *Religion* by Wars, or by ſanguinary Perſecutions to force Conſciences, except it be in caſes of overt Scandal, blaſphemy or intermixture of practice againſt the State; much leſs to nouriſh Seditions, to authorize Conſpiracies and Rebellions, to put the Sword into the peoples hands, and the like, tending to the ſubverſion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to daſh the Firſt Table againſt the Second, and ſo to conſider Men as Chriſtians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the ſacrificing of his own Daughter, exclaimed;

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.

what would he have ſaid, if he had known of the Maſſacre in *France*, or the Powder-Treaſon of *England*? He would have been ſeven times more Epicure and Atheiſt

Atheiſt than he was: For as the Temporal Sword is to be drawn with great circumſpection in caſes of *Religion*; ſo it is a thing monſtrous, to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptiſts, and other Furies. It was great blaſphemy, when the Devil ſaid, *I will aſcend and be like the higheſt*; but it is greater blaſphemy to perſonate God, and bring him in, ſaying, *I will deſcend and be like the Prince of Darkneſs*; And what is it better, to make the cauſe of *Religion* to deſcend to the cruel and execrable actions of Murthering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subverſion of States and Governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghoſt, inſtead of the likeneſs of a Dove, in the ſhape of a Vulture or Raven; and to ſet out of the Bark of a Chriſtian Church, a Flag of a Bark of Pyrates and *Aſſaſſins*. Therefore it is moſt neceſſary, that the Church by Doctrine and decree, Princes by their Sword, and all Learnings both Chriſtian and Moral, as by their Mercury Rod, do damn and ſend to Hell for ever thoſe Facts and Opinions, tending to the ſupport of the ſame, as hath been already in good part done. Surely in Councils concerning *Religion*, that Counſel of the Apoſtle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet juſtitiam Dei.* And it was a notable obſervation of a wiſe Father, and no leſs ingeniouſly confeſſed, *That thoſe which held and perſwaded preſſure of Conſciences, were commonly intereſſed therein themſelves for their own ends.*

IV.

Of Revenge.

Revenge is a kind of wild Juſtice; which the more Man's Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out. For as to the firſt wrong, it doth but offend the Law, but the *Revenge* of that wrong putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly in taking *Revenge*, a Man is

but

but even with his Enemy; but in paſſing it over he is ſuperiour: for it is a Princes part to pardon. And *Solomon*, I am ſure, ſaith, *It is the Glory of a Man to paſs by an offence.* That which is paſt, is gone, and irrecoverable; and wiſe Men have enough to do with things preſent, and to come: therefore they do but triſle with themſelves, that labour in paſt matters. There is no Man doth a wrong for the wrongs ſake, but thereby to purchaſe himſelf profit, or pleaſure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why ſhould I be angry with a Man for loving himſelf better than me? And if any Man ſhould do wrong meerly out of ill nature why? yet it is but like the Thorn or Bryar, which prick and ſcratch, because they can do no other. The moſt tolerable ſort of *Revenge*, is for thoſe wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then let a man take heed, that the *Revenge* be ſuch, as there is no Law to puniſh; elſe a Man's Enemy is ſtill before-hand, and it is two for one. Some when they take *Revenge*, are deſirous the Party ſhould know whence it cometh: this is the more generous. For the delight ſeemeth to be not ſo much in doing the hurt, as in making the party repent. But baſe and crafty Cowards are like the Arrow that flieth in the dark. *Coſmus* Duke of *Florence* had a deſperate ſaying againſt perfidious or neglecting Friends, as if thoſe wrongs were unpardonable: *You ſhall read* (ſaith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; but you never read, that we are commanded to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Job* was in a better tune; *ſhall we* (ſaith he) *take good at God's hand, and not be content to take evil alſo?* And ſo of Friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a Man that ſtudieth *Revenge*, keeps his own wounds green, which otherwiſe would heal, and do well: *Publick Revenges* are for the moſt part Fortunate, as that for the death of *Cæſar*, for the death of *Pertinax*, for the death of *Henry* the Third of *France*, and many more. But in private *Revenges* it is not ſo. Nay, rather vindicative perſons live the life of Witches; who as they are miſchievous, ſo end they unfortunate.

Of

V.

Of Adverſity.

IT was an high Speech of *Seneca*, (after the manner of the Stoicks) *That the good things which belong to proſperity are to be wiſhed, but the good things that belong to adverſity are to be admired: Bona rerum ſecundarum optabilia, adverſarum mirabilia.* Certainly, if Miracles be the command over Nature, they appear moſt in *Adverſity*. It is yet a higher Speech of his, than the other, (much too high for a Heathen) *It is true greatneſs to have in one the frailty of a Man, and the ſecurity of a God: Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, ſecuritatem Dei.* This would have done better in Poeſie, where tranſcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets indeed have been buſie with it; for it is in effect the thing, which is figured in that ſtrange Fiction of the ancient Poets, which ſeemeth not to be without myſtery; nay, and to have ſome approach to the State of a Chriſtian: That *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus*) by whom Humane Nature is repreſented) *ſailed the length of the great Ocean in an Earthen Pot or Pitcher*; Lively deſcribing Chriſtian reſolution, that ſaileth in the frail Bark of the Fleſh, through the waves of the World. But to ſpeak in a mean: The Vertue of *Proſperity* is Temperance, the Vertue of *Adverſity* is Fortitude, which in Morals is the more heroical Vertue. *Proſperity* is the Bleſſing of the Old Teſtament, *Adverſity* is the Bleſſing of the New, which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the clearer Revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Teſtament, if you liſten to *David*'s Harp, you ſhall hear as many Hearſe-like Airs, as Carols. And the Pencil of the Holy Ghoſt hath laboured more in deſcribing the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Solomon*. *Proſperity* is not without many fears and diſtaſtes; and *Adverſity* is not without comforts and hopes. We ſee in Needle-works and Embroyderies,

broyderies, it is more pleaſing to have a lively work upon a ſad and ſolemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy Work upon a lightſome ground. Judge therefore of the pleaſure of the Heart, by the pleaſure of the Eye. Certainly Vertue is like precious Odours, moſt fragrant when they are incenſed or cruſhed: For *Proſperity* doth beſt diſcover Vice, but *Adverſity* doth beſt diſcover Vertue.

VI.

Of Simulation and Diſſimulation.

Diſſimulation is but a faint kind of Policy or Wiſdom; for it asketh a ſtrong Wit and a ſtrong Heart, to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker ſort of Politicks, that are the great Diſſemblers.

Tacitus ſaith, *Livia ſorted well with the Arts of her Husband and Diſſimulation of her Son*; attributing *Arts* or *Policy* to *Auguſtus*, and *Diſſimulation* to *Tiberius*. And again, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Veſpaſian* to take Arms againſt *Vitellius*, he ſaith, *We riſe not againſt the piercing Judgment of* Auguſtus, *nor the extream Caution or Cloſeneſs of* Tiberius. Theſe properties of *Arts*, or *Policy* and *Diſſimulation*, or *Cloſeneſs*, are indeed habits and faculties, ſeveral, and to be diſtinguiſhed. For if a man have that penetration of Judgment, as he can diſcern, what things are to be laid open, and what to be ſecreted, and what to be ſhewed at half lights, and to whom, and when (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him; a habit of *Diſſimulation* is a hindrance, and a poorneſs. But if a Man cannot attain to that Judgment, then it is left to him generally to be Cloſe, and a *Diſſembler*. For where a man cannot chuſe or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the ſafeſt and wearieſt way in general; like the going ſoftly by one that cannot well ſee. Certainly the ableſt Men that ever were,

were, have had all an openneſs and frankneſs of dealing, and a Name of Certainty and Veracity: but then they were like Horſes, well managed; for they could tell paſſing well, when to ſtop or turn; And at ſuch times, when they thought the caſe indeed required *Diſſimulation*, if then they uſed it, it came to paſs, that the former Opinion ſpread abroad of their good faith, and clearneſs of dealing, made them almoſt inviſible.

There are three degrees of this hiding and veiling of Mans ſelf. The firſt *Cloſeneſs*, *Reſervation*, and *Secrecy*; when a Man leaveth himſelf without obſervation, or without hold to be taken what he is. The Second *Diſſimulation* in the *Negative*, when a Man lets fall Signs and Arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third *Simulation* in the *Affirmative*, when a Man induſtriouſly and expreſly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the firſt of theſe, *Secrecy*: It is indeed the vertue of a Confeſſor; and aſſuredly the *Secret* Man heareth many Confeſſions: For who will open himſelf to a Blab, or a Babler? But if a man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth diſcovery, as the more cloſe Air ſucketh in the more open: And as in confeſſion, the revealing is not for worldly uſe, but for the eaſe of a Mans heart; ſo *Secret*, Men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while Men rather diſcharge their minds, than impart their minds. In few words, Myſteries are due to *Secrecy*. Beſides (to ſay truth) *Nakedneſs* is uncomely, as well in mind as in body; and it addeth no ſmall reverence to Mens manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for Talkers, and Futile perſons, they are commonly vain, and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will alſo talk what he knoweth not. Therefore ſet it down, *that an habit of Secrecy is both politick and moral.* And in this part it is good, that a Mans face give his tongue leave to ſpeak. For the diſcovery of Mans ſelf, by the tracts of his countenance, is a great weakneſs and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed, than a Mans words.

For

For the ſecond, which is *Diſſimulation*: It followeth many times upon *Secrecy* by a neceſſity; ſo that he that will be *Secret*, muſt be a *Diſſembler* in ſome degree. For men are too cunning, to ſuffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be *Secret* without ſwaying the ballance on either ſide. They will ſo beſet a Man with queſtions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an abſurd ſilence, he muſt ſhew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech: As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long: ſo that no man can be *Secret*, except he give himſelf a little ſcope of *Diſſimulation*, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of *Secrecy*.

But for the third degree, which is *Simulation*, and falſe profeſſion: That I hold more culpable, and leſs politick, except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general cuſtom of *Simulation* (which is this laſt degree) is a Vice, riſing either of a natural falſeneſs or fearfulneſs, or of a mind that hath ſome main faults; which becauſe a man muſt needs diſguiſe, it maketh him practiſe *Simulation* in other things, leſt his hand ſhould be out of uſe.

The great *advantages* of *Simulation* and *Diſſimulation* are three. Firſt, To lay aſleep oppoſition, and to ſurpriſe: For where a Mans intentions are publiſhed, it is an alarm to call up all that are againſt them. The ſecond is, to reſerve to a Mans ſelf a fair retreat: For if a man engage himſelf by a manifeſt Declaration, he muſt go through, or take a fall. The third is, the better to diſcover the mind of another: For to him that opens himſelf, Men will hardly ſhew themſelves averſe, but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of ſpeech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good ſhrewd Proverb of the *Spaniard*, *Tell a Lye, and find a Truth*; as if there were no way of diſcovery, but by *Simulation*.

There

There be alſo three *diſadvantages* to ſet it even. The firſt, That *Simulation* and *Diſſimulation* commonly carry with them a ſhew of fearfulneſs, which in any buſineſs doth ſpoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The ſecond, That it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwiſe co-operate with him, and makes a man walk almoſt alone to his own ends. The third and greateſt is, That it depriveth a man of one of the moſt principal inſtruments for action, which is *Truſt* and *Belief*. The compoſition and temperature is, to have *Openneſs* in fame and opinion, *Secrecy* in habit, *Diſſimulation* in ſeaſonable uſe, and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

VII.

Of Parents and Children.

THE joys of *Parents* are ſecret, and ſo are their griefs and fears; they cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter the other. *Children* ſweeten labours, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increaſe the cares of Life, but they mitigate the remembrance of Death. The perpetuity by generation is common to Beaſts; but memory, merit, and noble works are proper to Men: and ſurely a man ſhall ſee the nobleſt Works and Foundations have proceeded from *Childleſs Men*, which have ſought to expreſs the Images of their minds, where thoſe of their bodies have failed: So the care of poſterity is moſt in them that have no poſterity. They that are the firſt raiſers of their Houſes, are moſt indulgent towards their *Children*; beholding them as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their work, and ſo both *Children* and *Creatures*.

The difference in affection of *Parents* towards their ſeveral *Children*, is many times unequal, and ſometimes unworthy,

worthy, eſpecially in the *Mother*; as *Solomon* ſaith, *A wiſe Son rejoyceth the Father, but an ungracious Son ſhames the Mother.* A man ſhall ſee, where there is a Houſe full of *Children*, one or two of the eldeſt reſpected, and the youngeſt made wantons; but in the midſt, ſome that are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheleſs prove the beſt. The illiberality of *Parents* in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmful error, makes them baſe, acquaints them with ſhifts, makes them ſort with mean company; and makes them ſurfeit more when they come to plenty: and therefore the proof is beſt, when men keep their authority towards their *Children*, but not their purſe. Men have a fooliſh manner (both *Parents*, and *School-Maſters*, and *Servants*) in creating and breeding an emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times ſorteth to diſcord when they are men, and diſturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference between *Children* and Nephews, or near Kinsfolks; but ſo they be of the lump they care not, though they paſs not through their own body. And to ſay truth, in Nature it is much alike matter, inſomuch that we ſee a Nephew ſometimes reſembleth an Uncle, or a Kinſman, more than his own *Parent*, as the blood happens. Let *Parents* chuſe betimes the vocations and courſes they mean their *Children* ſhould take, for then they are moſt flexible; and let them not too much apply themſelves to the diſpoſition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take beſt to that which they have moſt mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptneſs of the *Children* be extraordinary, then it is good not to croſs it: but generally the precept is good, *Optimum elige, ſuave & facile illud facit conſuetudo*, *younger Brothers* are commonly fortunate, but ſeldom or never where the *elder* are diſinherited.

Of

VIII.

Of Marriage and Single Life.

HE that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath given hoſtages to Fortune, for they are impediments to great enterpriſes, either of Vertue or Miſchief. Certainly the beſt works, and of greateſt merit for the publick, have proceeded from the *unmarried* or *Childleſs Men*, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick. Yet it were great reaſon, that thoſe that have *Children*, ſhould have greateſt care of future times, unto which they know they muſt tranſmit their deareſt pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their thoughts do end with themſelves, and account future times impertinencies. Nay, there are ſome other, that account *Wife* and *Children* but as Bills of Charges. Nay, more, there are ſome fooliſh rich covetous men, that take pride in having no *Children*, becauſe they may be thought ſo much the richer. For perhaps they have heard ſome talk, *Such an one is a great rich Man*; and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of Children*; as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the moſt ordinary cauſe of a *Single Life* is Liberty, eſpecially in certain ſelf-pleaſing and humorous minds, which are ſo ſenſible of every reſtraint, as they will go near to think their Girdles and Garters to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried men* are beſt Friends, beſt Maſters, beſt Servants, but not always beſt Subjects; for they are light to run away, and almoſt all Fugitives are of that condition. A *ſingle life* doth well with *Church-men*: for *Charity* will hardly water the Ground, where it muſt firſt fill a Pool. It is indifferent for *Judges* and *Magiſtrates*; for if they be facile and corrupt, you ſhall have a Servant five times worſe than a *Wife*. For Souldiers, I find the Generals

commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their *Wives* and *Children.* And I think the deſpiſing of *Marriage* amongſt the *Turks,* making the vulgar Souldier more baſe. Certainly *Wife* and *Children* are a kind of humanity; and *Single men,* though they be many times more charitable, becauſe their means are leſs exhauſt: yet on the other ſide, they are more cruel and hard hearted, (good to make ſevere Inquiſitors) becauſe their tenderneſs is not ſo oft called upon. Grave natures, led by cuſtom, and therefore conſtant, are commonly loving *Husbands;* as was ſaid of *Ulyſſes, Vetulam ſuam prætulit immortalitati.* Chaſt Women are often proud and froward, as preſuming upon the merit of their chaſtity. It is one of the beſt bonds both of chaſtity and obedience in the *Wife,* if ſhe thinks her *Husband* wiſe, which ſhe will never do, if ſhe find him *jealous. Wives* are young mens Miſtriſſes, Companions for middle Age, and old mens Nurſes; ſo as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wiſe men, that made anſwer to the queſtion; When a man ſhould marry? *A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often ſeen, that bad *Husbands* have very good *Wives;* whether it be, that it raiſeth the price of their *Husbands* kindneſs when it comes, or that the *Wives* take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad *Husbands* were of their own chuſing, againſt their Friends conſent; for then they will be ſure to make good their own folly.

IX.

Of Envy.

THERE be none of the *Affections,* which have been noted to facinate or bewitch, but *Love* and *Envy.* They both have vehement wiſhes, they frame themſelves

ſelves readily into imaginations and ſuggeſtions; and they come eaſily into the eye, eſpecially upon the preſence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to faſcination, if any ſuch thing there be. We ſee likewiſe the Scripture calleth *Envy, an evil eye*; and the Aſtrologers call the evil influences of the Stars, *Evil Aſpects*; ſo that ſtill there ſeemeth to be acknowledged in the act of *Envy*, an ejaculation or irradiation of the Eye. Nay, ſome have been ſo curious, as to note, that the times, when the ſtroke or percuſſion of an *Envious Eye* doth moſt hurt, are, when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory or Triumph; for that ſets an edge upon *Envy*: And beſides, at ſuch times the ſpirits of the *Perſon envied* do come forth moſt into the outward parts, and ſo meet the blow.

But leaving theſe curioſities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place) we will handle, *What Perſons are apt to envy others, what Perſons are moſt ſubject to be envied themſelves*, and *what is the difference between publick and private Envy.*

A man that hath no virtue in himſelf, ever *envieth* virtue in others. For mens minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others evil; and who wanteth the one, will pray upon the other; and who ſo is out of hope to attain to anothers vertue, will ſeek to come at even-hand by depreſſing anothers Fortune.

A man that is buſie and inquiſitive, is commonly *Envious*: for to know much of other mens matters cannot be, becauſe all that ado may concern his eſtate; therefore it muſt needs be, that he taketh a kind of play-pleaſure in looking upon the fortunes of others; neither can he that mindeth but his own buſineſs, find much matter for *Envy*: For *Envy* is a gadding paſſion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keep home, *Non eſt curioſus, quin idem ſit malevolus.*

Men of noble Birth are noted to be *envious* towards new Men when they riſe: For the diſtance is altered;

and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on, they think themſelves go back.

Deformed perſons, and Eunuchs, and old Men, and Baſtards are *envious:* for he that cannot poſſibly mend his own caſe, will do what he can to impair anothers, except theſe defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it ſhould be ſaid, that an Eunuch, or lame man, did ſuch great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in *Narſes* the Eunuch, and *Ageſilaus*, and *Tamberlanes*, that were lame men.

The ſame is the caſe of men that riſe after calamities and misfortunes; for they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other mens harms a Redemption of their own ſufferings.

They that deſire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever *Envious*; For they cannot want work, it being impoſſible but many in ſome one of thoſe things ſhould ſurpaſs them; which was the character of *Adrian* the Emperour, that mortally *envied Poets* and *Painters*, and *Artificers* in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Laſtly, near Kinſfolks and Fellows in Office, and thoſe that have been bred together, are more apt to *Envy* their equals, when they are raiſed: For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftner into their remembrance, and incurreth likewiſe more into the note of others; and *Envy* ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. *Cain's Envy* was the more vile and malignant towards his Brother *Abel*, becauſe when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was no body to look on. Thus much for *thoſe that are apt to Envy.*

Concerning *thoſe that are more or leſs ſubject to Envy:* Firſt, Perſons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced are leſs *envied:* For their fortune ſeemeth but due unto them; and no man *envyeth* the payment of a *Debt*, but

but Rewards and Liberality rather. Again, *Envy* is ever joyned with the comparing of a man's ſelf; and where there is no compariſon, no *Envy*; and therefore Kings are not *envied*, but by Kings. Nevertheleſs it is to be noted, that unworthy perſons are moſt *envied* at their firſt coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwiſe, Perſons of worth and merit are moſt envied, when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the ſame, yet it hath not the ſame *Luſtre*; for freſh men grow up that darken it.

Perſons of noble blood are leſs *envied* in their riſing; for it ſeemeth but right done to their Birth. Beſides, there ſeemeth not much added to their fortune; and *Envy* is as the Sun-beams, that beat hotter upon a Bank or ſteep riſing Ground, than upon a Flat. And for the ſame reaſons, thoſe that are advanced by degrees are leſs *envied*, than thoſe that are advanced ſuddenly, and *per ſaltum*.

Thoſe that have joyned with their Honour great Travels, Cares or Perils, are leſs ſubject to *Envy*: For men think that they earn their Honours hardly, and pity them ſometimes; and Pity ever healeth *Envy*: Wherefore you ſhall obſerve, that the more deep and ſober ſort of politick Perſons in their greatneſs, are ever bemoaning themſelves, what a life they lead, chanting *Quanta patimur*. Not that they feel it ſo, but only to abate the edge of *Envy*. But this is to be underſtood of buſineſs that is laid upon men, and not ſuch as they call unto themſelves. For nothing increaſeth *Envy* more than an unneceſſary and ambitious engroſſing of buſineſs; and nothing doth extinguiſh *Envy* more, than for a great Perſon to preſerve all other inferior Officers in their full rights and preheminencies of their places: for by that means there be ſo many Skreens between him and *Envy*.

Above all, thoſe are moſt ſubject to *Envy* which carry the greatneſs of their fortunes in an inſolent and

proud manner, being never well but while they are ſhewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all oppoſition or competition; whereas wiſe men will rather do Sacrifice to *Envy*, in ſuffering themſelves ſometimes of purpoſe to be croſt and over-born of things that do not much concern them. Notwithſtanding ſo much is true, That the carriage of greatneſs in a plain and open manner (ſo it be without arrogancy and vain-glory) doth draw leſs *Envy*, than if it be in a more crafty and cunning faſhion. For in that courſe a man doth but diſavow fortune, and ſeemeth to be conſcious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Laſtly, To conclude this part; As we ſaid in the beginning, that the Act of *Envy* had ſomewhat in it of *witchcraft*, ſo there is no other cure of *Envy* but the cure of *witchcraft*; and that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpoſe, the wiſer ſort of great Perſons, bring in ever upon the Stage ſome body upon whom to drive the *Envy* that would come upon themſelves; ſometimes upon Miniſters and Servants, ſometimes upon Colleagues and Aſſociates, and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting ſome Perſons of violent and undertaking Natures, who, ſo they may have Power and Buſineſs, will take it at any coſt.

Now to ſpeak of *publick Envy*. There is yet ſome good in *publick Envy*; whereas in *private* there is none. For *publick Envy* is an *Oſtraciſm*, that eclipſeth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle alſo to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This *Envy* being in the Latine word *Invidia*, goeth in the modern Languages by the name of *Diſcontentment*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in handling *Sedition*. It is a diſeaſe in a State like to infection; for as infection ſpreadeth upon that which is ſound, and tainteth it; ſo when *Envy* is gotten once in a State, it traduceth even the beſt actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill

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odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plauſible actions. For that doth argue but a weakneſs and fear of *Envy*, which hurteth ſo much the more, as it is likewiſe uſual in *infections*; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This *publick Envy* ſeemeth to bear chiefly upon principal Officers or Miniſters, rather than upon Kings and Eſtates themſelves. But this is a ſure rule, that if the *Envy* upon the Miniſters be great, when the cauſe of it in him is ſmall; or if the *Envy* be general, in a manner, upon all the Miniſters of an Eſtate, then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State it ſelf. And ſo much of *publick Envy* or *Diſcontentment*, and the difference thereof from *private Envy*, which was handled in the firſt place.

We will add this in general, touching the Affection of *Envy*; that, of all other Affections, it is the moſt importune and continual. For of other Affections there is occaſion given but now and then. And therefore it was well ſaid, *Invidia feſtos dies non agit.* For it is ever working upon ſome or other. And it is alſo noted, that *Love* and *Envy* do make a man pine, which other Affections do not; becauſe they are not ſo continual. It is alſo the vileſt Affection, and the moſt depraved: for which cauſe it is the proper Attribute of the Devil, who is called *the envious Man, that ſoweth Tares amongſt the Wheat by night*: as it always cometh to paſs, that *Envy* worketh ſubtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, ſuch as is the *Wheat*.

X.

Of Love.

THE Stage is more beholding to *Love* than the Life of Man. For, as to the Stage, *Love* is even matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: but in

Life it doth much miſchief; ſometimes like a *Syren*, ſometimes like a *Fury*. You may obſerve, that amongſt all the great and worthy perſons (whereof the Memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not one that hath been tranſported to the mad degree of *Love*: which ſhew, that great Spirits, and great Buſineſs, do keep out this weak Paſſion. You muſt except nevertheleſs, *Marcus Antonius*, the half Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*, the Law-giver: whereof the former was indeed a Voluptuous Man, and Inordinate; but the Latter was an Auſtere and Wiſe Man. And therefore it ſeems, (though rarely) that *Love* can *find* entrance, not only into an open Heart, but alſo into a Heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor ſaying of *Epicurus*, *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum ſumus.* As if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all noble Objects, ſhould do nothing but kneel before a little Idol, and make himſelf a Subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beaſts are) yet of the Eye, which was given him for higher purpoſes. It is a ſtrange thing to note the Exceſs of this paſſion; and how it braves the Nature and value of things by this, that the ſpeaking in a perpetual *Hyperbole* is comely in nothing but in *Love*. Neither is it meerly in the Phraſe: for, whereas it hath been well ſaid, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a Man's ſelf; certainly, the *Love* is more. For there was never a proud Man thought ſo abſurdly well of himſelf, as the *Lover* doth of the Perſon *Loved*: and therefore it was well ſaid, that *it is impoſſible to Love, and to be wiſe.* Neither doth this weakneſs appear to others only, and not to the Party *Loved*: but to the *Loved* moſt of all; except the *Love* be reciproque: for it is a true rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the reciproque, or with an inward and ſecret Contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this Paſſion, which loſeth not only other things, but it ſelf. As for the other loſſes,

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the *Poets* Relation doth well figure them; that he that preferreth *Helena*, quitteth the gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*. For whoſoever eſteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both *Riches* and *Wiſdom*. This Paſſion hath his Floods in the very times of weakneſs: which are great *Proſperity*, and great *Adverſity*; though this latter hath been leſs obſerved. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more frequent, and therefore ſhew it to be the Child of Folly. They do beſt, who, if they cannot but admit *Love*; yet make it keep Quarter, and ſever it wholly from their ſerious Affairs and Actions of Life: for if it check once with Buſineſs, it troubleth mens Fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own Ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to *Love*; I think it is but as they are given to *Wine*; for *Perils* commonly ask to be paid in *Pleaſures*. There is in a mans Nature a ſecret Inclination and Motion towards *Love* of others; which if it be not ſpent upon ſome one, or a few, doth naturally ſpread it ſelf towards many, and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; as it is ſeen ſometime in *Friars*. *Nuptial* Love *maketh Mankind*; *Friendly* Love *perfecteth it*; *but wanton* Love *corrupteth and embaſeth it*.

XI.

Of Great Place.

MEN in *Great Place* are thrice *Servants*: Servants of the *Soveraign* or *State*; Servants of *Fame*; and Servants of *Buſineſs*. So as they have no Freedom, either in their *Perſons*, nor in their *Actions*, nor in their *Times*. It is a ſtrange deſire to ſeek *Power*, and to loſe *Liberty*; or to ſeek Power over *others*, and to loſe Power over a *Mans ſelf*. The Riſing unto *Place* is laborious; and by *Pains* men come to greater *Pains*: and it is ſometimes

times baſe; and by *Indignities* men come to *Dignities.* The Standing is Slippery, and the Regreſs is either a Downfall, or at leaſt an Eclipſe, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non ſis, qui fueris, non eſſe, cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire men cannot when they would; neither will they, when it were Reaſon: but are impatient of Privateneſs, even in Age and Sickneſs, which require the Shadow: Like old Townſmen; that will be ſtill ſitting at their Street Door, though thereby they offer Age to Scorn. Certainly Great Perſons had need to borrow other mens Opinions, to think themſelves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themſelves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the firſt that find their own griefs; though they be the laſt that find their own fault. Certainly, Men, in great Fortunes are ſtrangers to themſelves, and while they are in the puzzle of Buſineſs, they have no time to tend their Health, either of body or mind. *Illi Mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur ſibi.* In *Place*, there is licence to do Good and Evil, whereof the latter is a curſe; for in Evil, the beſt condition is not to Will, the ſecond not to Can. But Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aſpiring: for good thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards Men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in Act; and that cannot be without Power and Place, as the Vantage and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works is the end of mans motion; and Conſcience of the ſame is the accompliſhment of mans reſt: for if a man can be partaker of God's Theater; he ſhall likewiſe be partaker of God's Reſt. *Et converſus Deus, ut aſpiceret opera, quæ fecerunt manus ſuæ, vidit quod omnia eſſent bona nimis;* And then the Sabbath. In the Diſcharge of thy *Place*, ſet before thee the beſt Examples; for Imitation is a Globe of Precepts. And after

ter a time ſet before thee thine own Example; and examine thy ſelf ſtrictly whether thou didſt not beſt at firſt. Neglect not alſo the Examples of thoſe that have carried themſelves ill in the ſame *Place*: not to ſet off thy ſelf by taxing their memory; but to direct thy ſelf what to avoid. Reform therefore without bravery or ſcandal of former Times and Perſons; but yet ſet it down to thy ſelf, as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the firſt Inſtitution, and obſerve wherein, and how they have degenerated; but yet ask Counſel of both Times, of the Ancienter Time what is beſt, and of the Latter Time what is fitteſt. Seek to make thy Courſe Regular, that men may know before-hand what they may expect, but be not too poſitive and peremptory; and expreſs thy ſelf well when thou digreſſeſt from thy Rule. Preſerve the right of thy *Place*, but ſtir not queſtions of Juriſdiction; and rather aſſume thy Right in Silence and *de facto*, than voice it with Claims and Challenges. Preſerve likewiſe the Right of Inferior *Places*; and think it more Honour to direct in chief, than to be buſie in all. Embrace and invite Helps and Advices, touching the Execution of thy *Place*: and do not drive away ſuch as bring Information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The Vices of *Authority* are chiefly four: *Delays*, *Corruption*, *Roughneſs and Faction*. For *Delays*, Give eaſie acceſs, Keep Times appointed, Go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not buſineſs but of neceſſity. For *Corruption*, Not only bind thine own hands, or thy Servants hands from taking, but bind the hands of Suitors alſo from offering: For integrity uſed, doth the one; but Integrity profeſſed, and with a manifeſt deteſtation of Bribery, doth the other; and avoid not only the Fault, but the Suſpicion. Whoſoever is found variable, and changeth manifeſtly, without manifeſt Cauſe, giveth ſuſpicion of *Corruption*. Therefore always when thou changeſt thine opinion or courſe, profeſs it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reaſons that

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move thee to change, and do not think to ſteal it. A Servant, or a Favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent Cauſe of Eſteem, is commonly thought but a By-way to cloſe *Corruption.* For *Roughneſs,* It is a needleſs cauſe of *Diſcontent*; *Severity* breedeth Fear, but *Roughneſs* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for *Facility,* It is worſe than Bribery: for Bribes come but now and then; but if Importunity, or idle Reſpects lead a Man, he ſhall never be without, as *Solomon* ſaith, *To reſpect Perſons is not good; for ſuch a Man will tranſgreſs for a piece of bread.* It is moſt true that was anciently ſpoken; *A Place ſheweth the Man:* and it ſheweth ſome to the better, and ſome to the worſe: *Omnium conſenſu; capax Imperii, niſi imperaſſet;* ſaith *Tacitus* of *Galba:* but of *Veſpaſian* he ſaith, *Solus imperantium Veſpaſianus mutatus in melius.* Though the one was meant of Sufficiency, the other of Manners and Affection. It is an aſſured Sign of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends: for *Honour* is, or ſhould be, the place of Vertue; and as in Nature things move violently to their place, and calmly in their place: ſo Vertue in Ambition is violent, in Authority ſettled and calm. All riſing to *Great Place,* is by a winding Stair; and if there be Factions, it is good to ſide a Mans ſelf, whilſt he is in the Riſing; and to balance himſelf when he is placed. Uſe the memory of thy Predeceſſor fairly and tenderly; for if thou doſt not, it is a debt will ſure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, reſpect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reaſon to look to be called. Be not too ſenſible, or too remembring of thy Place in Converſation, and private Anſwers to Suitors; But let it rather be ſaid, *When he ſits in Place he is another Man.*

XII.

Of Boldneſs.

IT is a trivial Grammar-School Text, but yet worthy a wiſe *Mans* conſideration. Queſtion was asked of *Demoſthenes, What was the chief part of an Orator?* He anſwered, *Action;* What next? *Action;* What next again? *Action;* He ſaid it that knew it beſt, and had by nature himſelf no advantage in that he commended. A ſtrange thing, that that part of an Orator which is but ſuperficial, and rather the vertue of a Player, ſhould be placed ſo high above thoſe other noble parts of *Invention, Elocution,* and the reſt: Nay, almoſt alone; as if it were All in All. But the reaſon is plain. There is in Humane Nature generally more of the Fool than of the Wiſe; and therefore thoſe faculties, by which the fooliſh part of mens minds is taken are moſt potent. Wonderful like is the caſe of *Boldneſs* in civil buſineſs: What firſt? *Boldneſs;* What ſecond and third? *Boldneſs.* And yet *Boldneſs* is a Child of Ignorance and Baſeneſs, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheleſs it doth faſcinate and bind hand and foot, thoſe that are either ſhallow in judgment, or weak in courage, which are the greateſt part; yea, and prevaileth with wiſe men at weak times. Therefore we ſee it hath done Wonders in popular States, but with Senates and Princes leſs; and more, ever upon the firſt entrance of *Bold Perſons* into action, than ſoon after: for *Boldneſs* is an ill Keeper of Promiſe. Surely, as there are *Mountebanks* for the Natural Body, ſo are there *Mountebanks* for the Politick Body: Men that undertake great Cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the grounds of Science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you ſhall ſee a *Bold Fellow* many times do *Mahomets* miracle: *Mahomet* made the People believe, that he

he would call an Hill to him; and from the top of it offer up his Prayers for the obſervers of his Law. The people aſſembled, *Mahomet* called the Hill to him again and again; and when the Hill ſtood ſtill, he was never a whit abaſhed, but ſaid, *If the Hill will not come to* Mahomet, Mahomet *will go to the Hill.* So theſe men, when they have promiſed great matters, and failed moſt ſhamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of *Boldneſs*) they will but ſlight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, *Bold* perſons are a ſport to behold; nay, and to the Vulgar alſo, *Boldneſs* hath ſomewhat of the Ridiculous. For if abſurdity be the ſubject of laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldneſs* is ſeldom without ſome abſurdity. Eſpecially it is a ſport to ſee, when a *Bold Fellow* is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a moſt ſhrunken and wooden poſture, as needs it muſt: for in baſhfulneſs the Spirits do a little go and come, but with *Bold* men, upon like occaſion, they ſtand at a ſtay, like a Stale or Cheſs, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot ſtir. But this laſt were fitter for a Satyr than for a ſerious Obſervation. This is well to be weighed, That *Boldneſs* is ever blind; for it ſeeth not dangers and inconveniencies; therefore it is ill in Counſel good in Execution: ſo that the right uſe of *Bold* perſons is, that they never command in Chief, but be ſecconds, and under the direction of others. For in Counſel it is good to ſee Dangers, and in Execution not to ſee them, except they be very great.

XIII.

Of Goodneſs, and Goodneſs of Nature.

I Take *Goodneſs* in this ſence, the affecting of the weal of Men, which is that the *Grecians* call *Philanthropia*, and the *Word Humanity* (as it is uſed) is a little too light

to expreſs it. *Goodneſs* I call the Habit, and *Goodneſs of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Vertues and Dignities of the mind is the greateſt, being the Character of the Deity; and without it man is a buſie, miſchievous wretched thing, no better than a kind of Vermine. *Goodneſs* anſwers to the *Theological Vertue, Charity*, and admits no exceſs, but error. The deſire of power in exceſs cauſed the Angels to fall; the deſire of knowledge in exceſs cauſed Man to fall; but in *Charity* there is no exceſs, neither can Angel or Man come in danger by it. The inclination of *Goodneſs* is imprinted deeply in the nature of man; inſomuch, that if it iſſue not towards men, it will take unto other living Creatures; as it is ſeen in the *Turks*, a cruel people, who nevertheleſs are kind to Beaſts, and give Alms to Dogs and Birds: Inſomuch as *Busbechius* reporteth, a Chriſtian Boy in *Conſtantinople* had like to have been ſtoned for gagging, in a waggiſhneſs, a long-billed Fowl. Errors indeed, in this Vertue, in *Goodneſs* or *Charity* may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente; So good that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy, Nicholas Macchiavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almoſt in plain terms, *That the Chriſtian Faith had given up good men in prey to thoſe that are tyrannical and unjuſt:* which he ſpake, becauſe indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did ſo much magnifie *Goodneſs* as the Chriſtian Religion doth: therefore, to avoid the ſcandal, and danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an Habit ſo excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or ſoftneſs, which taketh an honeſt mind priſoner. Neither give the *Æſop*'s Cock a Gem, who would be better pleaſed and happier if he had had a Barly Corn. The Example of God teacheth the Leſſon truly: *He ſendeth his Rain, and maketh his Sun to ſhine upon the Juſt and Unjuſt*; but he doth not rain Wealth, nor ſhine Honour and Virtues upon Men equally. Common Benefits

nefits are to be communicated with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware, how in making the *Portraiture*, thou breakeſt the Pattern; for Divinity maketh the love of our ſelves the Pattern; the love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. *Sell all thou haſt and give it to the poor, and follow me:* but ſell not all thou haſt, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou mayſt do as much good with little means as with great: for otherwiſe, in feeding the Streams thou drieſt the Fountain. Neither is there only a *Habit* of *Goodneſs* directed by right Reaſon: but there is in ſome Men, even in Nature, a diſpoſition towards it; as on the other ſide, there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their Nature do not affect the good of others. The lighter ſort of malignity turneth but to croſsneſs, or frowardneſs, or aptneſs to oppoſe, or difficileneſs, or the like; but the deeper ſort to envy and meer miſchief. Such men in other mens calamities, are as it were in ſeaſon, and are ever on the loading part; not ſo good as the Dogs that licked *Lazarus*'s ſores, but like Flies, that are ſtill buzzing upon any thing that is raw; *Miſanthropi*, that make it their practice to bring men to the Bough, and yet have never a Tree for the purpoſe in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such diſpoſitions are the very errors of Humane Nature; and yet they are the fittest Timber to make great Politicks of: like to knee-Timber, that is good for Ships that are ordained to be toſſed, but not for building Houſes, that ſhall ſtand firm. The parts and ſigns of *Goodneſs* are many. If a Man be gracious and courteous to Strangers, it ſhews he is a Citizen of the world; and that his heart is no Iſland cut off from other Lands, but a Continent that joyns to them. If he be compaſſionate towards the afflictions of others, it ſhews that his heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded it ſelf, when it gives the Balm. If he eaſily pardons and remits offences, it ſhews that his mind is planted above Injuries, ſo that he cannot be ſhot. If he

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be thankful for ſmall benefits, it ſhews that he weighs mens minds, and not their traſh. But above all, if he have Saint *Paul*'s perfection, that he would wiſh to be an *Anathema* from Chriſt, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it ſhews much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of conformity with *Chriſt* himſelf.

XIV.

Of Nobility.

WE will ſpeak of *Nobility*, Firſt as a *Portion* of an *Eſtate*, then as a *Condition* of *Particular Perſons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure and abſolute *Tyranny*, as that of the *Turks*, for *Nobility* attempers *Soveraignty*, and draws the eyes of the People ſomewhat aſide from the *Line Royal*. But for *Democracies* they need it not: and they are commonly more quiet, and leſs ſubject to Sedition, than where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For mens eyes are upon the buſineſs, and not upon the perſons; or if upon the perſons, it is for buſineſs ſake, as the fitteſt, and not for flags and pedigree. We ſee the *Switzers* laſt well, notwithſtanding their diverſity of Religion, and of Cantons: for Utility is their Bond, and not Reſpects. The United Provinces of the *Low-Countries* in their Government excel: for where there is an equality, the Conſultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more chearful. A great and potent *Nobility* addeth Majeſty to a Monarch, but diminiſheth Power; and putteth Life and Spirit into the People, but preſſeth their Fortune. It is well when *Nobles* are not too great for Soveraignty, nor for juſtice; and yet maintained in that height, as the Inſolency of Inferiours may be broken upon them, before it come on too faſt upon the Majeſty of Kings. A numerous *Nobility* cauſeth Pover-

ty and inconvenience in a State: for it is a ſurcharge of expence; and beſides, it being of neceſſity that many of the *Nobility* fall in time to be weak in Fortune, it maketh a kind of Diſproportion between Honour and Means.

As for *Nobility* in *particular Perſons*, It is a reverend thing to ſee an ancient Caſtle or Building not in decay; or to ſee a fair Timber Tree ſound and perfect: how much more to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath ſtood againſt the Waves and Weathers of Time. For New *Nobility* is but the Act of Power; but Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Thoſe that are firſt raiſed to *Nobility* are commonly more virtuous, but leſs innocent than their Deſcendents; for there is rarely any Riſing, but by a commixture of good and evil Arts. But it is reaſon the memory of their Vertues remain to their Poſterity; and their faults die with themſelves. *Nobility* of *Birth* commonly abateth induſtry; and he that is not induſtrious, envieth him that is. Beſides, *Noble Perſons* cannot go much higher; and he that ſtandeth at a ſtay when others riſe, can hardly avoid motions of Envy. On the other ſide, *Nobility* extinguiſheth the Paſſive Envy from others towards them; becauſe they are in poſſeſſion of Honour. Certainly Kings that have able Men of their *Nobility*, ſhall find eaſe in employing them, and a better ſlide into their buſineſs: for people naturally bend to them, as born in ſome ſort to command.

XV.

Of Seditions and Troubles.

Shepherds of *People* had need know the *Kalenders* of *Tempeſts* in *State*; which are commonly greateſt when things grow to equality; as natural *Tempeſts* are greateſt about the *Æquinoctia*. And as there are cer-

tain hollow blaſts of Wind, and ſecret ſwellings of Seas before a Tempeſt, ſo are there in States.

——*Ille etiam cœcos inſtare Tumultus*
Sæpe monet, Fraudeſque & operta tumeſcere Bella.

Libels and Licentious Diſcourſes againſt the State, when they are frequent and open; and in like ſort, falſe News often running up and down to the diſadvantage of the State, and haſtily embraced; are amongſt the Signs of *Troubles*. *Virgil* giving the pedigree of *Fame*, ſaith, *She was Siſter to the Gyants.*

Illam Terra Parens ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque ſororem
Progenuit.——

As if *Fames* were the Relicks of *Seditions* paſt; but they are no leſs indeed, the Preludes of *Seditions* to come. Howſoever he noteth it right, That *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more but as Brother and Siſter, Maſculine and Feminine; eſpecially if it come to that, that the beſt Actions of a State, and the moſt plauſible, and which ought to give greateſt contentment, are taken in ill ſence, and traduced: for that ſhews the envy great, as *Tacitus* ſaith, *Conflata magna Invidia, ſeu benè, ſeu malè, geſta premunt.* Neither doth it follow, that becauſe theſe *Fames* are a ſign of *Troubles*, that the ſuppreſſing of them with too much ſeverity, ſhould be a Remedy of *Troubles:* for the deſpiſing of them many times checks them beſt; and the going about to ſtop them, doth but make a Wonder long-liv'd.

Alſo that kind of obedience which *Tacitus* ſpeaketh of is to be held ſuſpected; *Erant in officio, ſed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi*; Diſputing, Excuſing, Cavilling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of ſhaking off the yoak, and eſſay

of diſobedience; eſpecially, if in thoſe Diſputings, they which are for the direction, ſpeak fearfully and tenderly; and thoſe that are againſt it audaciouſly.

Alſo, as *Machiavel* noteth well; when Princes, that ought to be common Parents, make themſelves as a Party, and lean to a ſide, it is a Boat that is overthrown by uneaven weight on the one ſide; as was well ſeen in the time of *Henry* the third of *France*: for firſt himſelf entred League for the extirpation of the *Proteſtants*, and preſently after the ſame League was turned upon himſelf: for when the Authority of Princes is made but an Acceſſary to a Cauſe, and that there are other Bands that tie faſter than the Band of Soveraignty, Kings begin to be almoſt put out of poſſeſſion.

Alſo, when Diſcords, and Quarrels, and Factions are carried openly and audaciouſly, it is a ſign the Reverence of Government is loſt. For the Motions of the greateſt Perſons in a Government, ought to be as the motions of the Planets under *Primum Mobile* (according to the old Opinion:) which is, that every of them is carried ſwiftly by the higheſt Motion, and ſoftly in their own Motion. And therefore when great Ones in their own particular Motion move violently; and as *Tacitus* expreſſeth it well, *Liberius quam ut Imperantium meminiſſent*, it is a ſign the Orbs are out of Frame: for Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threatneth the diſſolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum.*

So when any of the four Pillars of Government are mainly ſhaken or weakned, (which are *Religion*, *Juſtice*, *Counſel*, and *Treaſure*) Men had need to pray for fair weather.

But let us paſs from this part of Predictions (concerning which, nevertheleſs, more light may be taken from that which followeth) and let us ſpeak firſt of the *Materials* of *Seditions*; then of the *Motives* of them; and thirdly, of the *Remedies.*

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Concerning the *Materials* of *Seditions*; It is a thing well to be conſidered: For the ſureſt way to prevent *Seditions* (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the ſpark ſhall come that ſhall ſet it on fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kinds; *much Poverty* and *much Diſcontentment*. It is certain, ſo many *Overthrown Eſtates*, ſo many votes for *Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State* of *Rome* before the Civil War.

Hinc Uſura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,
Hinc concuſſa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.

This ſame *multis utile Bellum* is an aſſured and infallible ſign of a State diſpoſed to *Seditions* and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty* and broken Eſtate in the better ſort, be joyned with a want and neceſſity in the mean People, the danger is eminent and great; for the Rebellions of the Belly are the worſt. As for *Diſcontentments*, they are in the Politick Body like to Humours in the Natural, which are apt to gather pre-natural Heat, and to enflame. And let no Prince meaſure the danger of them by this, whether they be juſt or unjuſt: for that were to imagine People to be too reaſonable, who do often ſpurn at their own good: nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they riſe, be in fact great or ſmall: for they are the moſt dangerous *Diſcontentments*, where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi modus, Timendi non item.* Beſides, in great Oppreſſions, the ſame things that provoke the Patience, do withal make the courage; but in fears it is not ſo. Neither let any Prince or State be ſecure concerning *Diſcontentments* becauſe they have been often, or have been long, and yet no Peril hath enſued; for as it is true, that every Vapour or Fume doth not turn into a Storm: So it is nevertheleſs true, that Storms though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at laſt: and as the *Spaniſh* Proverb noteth well; *The Cord breaketh at the laſt by the weakeſt pull.*

The *Cauſes* and *Motions* of *Seditions* are, *Innovation in Religion, Taxes, Alteration of Laws and Cuſtoms, breaking of Privileges, General Oppreſſion, Advancement of unworthy Perſons, Strangers, Dearths, Disbanded Souldiers, Factions grown deſperate.* And whatſoever in offending People, joyneth and knitteth them in a Common Cauſe.

For the *Remedies*; there may be ſome general Preſervatives whereof we will ſpeak; as for the juſt Cure, it muſt anſwer to the particular Diſeaſe, and ſo be left to Counſel rather than Rule.

The firſt *Remedy* or Prevention is, to remove by all means poſſible that *Material Cauſe* of *Sedition*, whereof we ſpeak; which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Eſtate.* To which purpoſe ſerveth the Opening and well Ballancing of Trade, the Cheriſhing of Manufactures, the Baniſhing of Idleneſs, the Repreſſing of Waſte and Exceſs by Sumptuary Laws, the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soyl, the Regulating of Prices of Things vendible, the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes, and the like. Generally it is to be foreſeen, that the Population of a Kingdom (eſpecially if it be not mowen down by Wars) do not exceed the Stock of the Kingdom, which ſhould maintain them. Neither is the Population to be reckoned only by number; for a ſmaller number that ſpend more, and earn leſs, do wear out an Eſtate ſooner than a greater number that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over Proportion to the Common People, doth ſpeedily bring a State to Neceſſity: and ſo doth likewiſe an overgrown Clergy, for they bring nothing to the Stock. And in like manner, when more are bred Scholars than Preferments can take off.

It is likewiſe to be remembred, that foraſmuch as the increaſe of any Eſtate muſt be upon the Foreigners; (for whatſoever is ſomewhere gotten, is ſomewhere loſt.) There be but three things which one Nation ſelleth unto another; the *Commodity* as Nature yieldeth it;

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the *Manufacture* and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*: So that if theſe three Wheels go, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-tide. And it cometh many times to paſs, that *Materiam ſuperabit Opus*; that the Work and Carriage is more worth than the Materials; and inricheth a State more: as is notably ſeen in the *Low Country-men*, who have the beſt Mines above Ground in the World.

Above all things good Policy is to be uſed, that the Treaſure and Moneys in a State be not gathered into few Hands. For otherwiſe a State may have a great Stock, and yet ſtarve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be ſpread. This is done chiefly by ſuppreſſing, or at the leaſt keeping a ſtraight hand upon the Devouring Trades of *Uſury*, *Ingroſing*, great *Paſturages*, and the like.

For removing *Diſcontentments*, or at leaſt the danger of them, there is in every State (as we know) two portions of *Subjects*, the *Nobleſs* and the *Commonalty*. When one of theſe is *Diſcontent*, the danger is not great; for common people are of ſlow motion, if they be not excited by the greater ſort; and the greater ſort are of ſmall ſtrength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themſelves. Then this is the danger, when the greater ſort do but wait for the troubling of the Waters amongſt the meaner, that then they may declare themſelves. The Poets feign, that the reſt of the Gods would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counſel of *Pallas*, ſent for *Briareus* with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An Emblem no doubt, to ſhew how ſafe it is for Monarchs to make ſure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for *Griefs* and *Diſcontentments* to evaporate (ſo it be without too great Inſolency or bravery) is a ſafe way. For he that turneth the Humours back, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign Ulcers, and pernicious Impoſthumations.

The part of *Epimetheus* might well become *Prometheus* in the caſe of *Diſcontentments*; for there is not a better proviſion againſt them. *Epimetheus*, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at laſt ſhut the Lid, and kept Hope in the bottom of the Veſſel. Certainly the politick and artificial nouriſhing and entertaining of *Hopes*, and carrying men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*, is one of the beſt Antidotes againſt the Poyſon of *Diſcontentments*. And it is a certain ſign of a wiſe Government and Proceeding, when it can hold mens hearts by *Hopes* when it cannot by ſatisfaction; and when it can handle things in ſuch manner, as no evil ſhall appear ſo peremptory but that it hath ſome out-let of *Hope*: which is the leſs hard to do, becauſe both particular Perſons and Factions art apt enough to flatter themſelves, or at leaſt to brave that which they believe not.

Alſo the fore-ſight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Diſcontented Perſons* may reſort, and under whom they may joyn, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I underſtand a fit Head to be one that hath Greatneſs and Reputation, that hath Confidence with the *Diſcontented* Party, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought *Diſcontented* in his own particular; which kind of Perſons are either to be won, and reconciled to the State, and that in a faſt and true manner; or to be fronted with ſome other of the ſame Party that may oppoſe them, and ſo divide the Reputation. Generally the dividing and breaking of all Factions and Combinations that are adverſe to the State, and ſetting them at diſtance, or at leaſt diſtruſt among themſelves, is not one of the worſt *Remedies*. For it is a deſperate caſe, if thoſe that hold with the proceeding of the State, be full of Diſcord and Faction; and thoſe that are againſt it, be entire and United.

I have noted, that ſome witty and ſharp Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions*. *Cæſar* did himſelf infinite hurt in that Speech,

Sylla

Sylla neſcivit literas, non potuit dictare: for it did utterly cut off that *Hope* which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his Dictatorſhip. *Galba* undid himſelf by that Speech, *Legi à ſe militem non emi,* for it put the Soldiers out of Hope of the Donative. *Probus* likewiſe by that ſpeech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus:* A Speech of great deſpair for the Soldiers: And many the like. Surely *Princes* had need, in tender matters, and tickliſh times, to beware what they ſay; eſpecially in theſe ſhort Speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be ſhot out of their ſecret Intentions. For as for large Diſcourſes, they are flat things, and not ſo much noted.

Laſtly, Let Princes againſt all Events not be without ſome great Perſon, one, or rather more, of Military Valour near unto them, for the repreſſing of *Seditions* in their beginnings. For without that, there uſeth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the firſt breaking out of *Troubles,* than were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* ſaith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* But let ſuch Military Perſons be aſſured, and well reputed of, rather than Factious and Popular, holding alſo good correſpondence with the other great Men in the *State,* or elſe the Remedy is worſe than the Diſeaſe.

XVI.

Of Atheiſm.

I Had rather believe all the Fables in the *Legend,* and the *Talmud,* and the *Alcoran,* that this Univerſal Frame is without a Mind. And therefore God never wrought

wrought a Miracle to convince *Atheiſm*, becauſe his ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philoſophy inclineth Mans mind to *Atheiſm*, but depth in Philoſophy bringeth Mens minds about to *Religion*, for while the mind of man looketh upon ſecond Cauſes ſcattered, it may ſometimes reſt in them, and go no further: but when it beholdeth the Chain of them Confederate and Linked together, it muſt needs fly to *Providence* and *Deity*. Nay, even that *School* which is moſt accuſed of *Atheiſm*, doth moſt demonſtrate *Religion*: That is, the *School* of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thouſand times more credible, that four mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth Eſſence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an Army of infinite ſmall Portions, or Seeds unplaced, ſhould have produced this order and beauty without a Divine Marſhal. The Scripture ſaith, *The Fool hath ſaid in his heart, there is no God*: it is not ſaid, *The fool hath thought in his heart*: So as he rather ſaith it by rote to himſelf, as that he would have, than that he can throughly believe it, or be perſwaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but thoſe for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheiſm* is rather in the *Lip*, than in the *Heart* of Man, than by this; That *Atheiſts* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it within themſelves, and would be glad to be ſtrengthned by the conſent of others. Nay more, you ſhall have *Atheiſts* ſtrive to get *Diſciples*, as it fareth with other Sects. And, which is moſt of all, you ſhall have of them that will ſuffer for *Atheiſm* and not recant; whereas if they did truly think, that there were no ſuch thing as *God*, why ſhould they trouble themſelves? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but diſſemble for his credits ſake, when he affirmed, there were *Bleſſed Natures*, but ſuch as enjoyed themſelves, without having reſpect to the Government of the World: wherein, they ſay, he did temporize; though in ſecret he thought there was no God. But certainly he

he is traduced; for his Words are Noble and Divine; *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, ſed vulgi Opiniones Diis applicare profanum.* *Plato* could have ſaid no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the *Adminiſtration*, he had not the power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *Weſt* have names for their particular *gods*, though they have no name for *God*; as if the *Heathens* ſhould have had the names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. but not the word *Deus*: which ſhews, that even thoſe barbarous People have the notion, hough they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that againſt the *Atheiſt* the very Savages take part with the very ſubtileſt Philoſophers: The Contemplative *Atheiſt* is rare: A *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and ſome others; and yet they ſeem to be more than they are: For that all that impugn a received *Religion* or *Superſtition*, are by the adverſe part branded with the name of *Atheiſts*. But the great *Atheiſts* indeed are *Hypocrites*, which are ever handling Holy things, but without feeling; ſo as they muſt needs be cauterized in the end. The *Cauſes* of *Atheiſm* are *Diviſions* in *Religion*, if they be many: for any one main *Diviſion* addeth Zeal to both ſides, but many Diviſions introduce *Atheiſm*. Another is, *Scandal* of *Prieſts*, when it is come to that which Saint *Bernard* ſaith, *Non eſt jam dicere, ut populus, ſic ſacerdos: quia nec ſic populus, ut ſacerdos.* A third is, Cuſtom of *Prophane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters*, which doth by little and little deface the Reverence of Religion. And laſtly, *Learned Times*, eſpecially with peace and proſperity: for troubles and adverſities do more bow Mens minds to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, deſtroy Mans Nobility: for certainly Man is of kin to the Beaſts by his Body; and if he be not of kin to *God* by his Spirit; he is a baſe and ignoble Creature. It deſtroys likewiſe Magnanimity, and the raiſing Humane Nature: for take an example of a Dog, and mark what a generoſity and courage he will put on, when he finds himſelf maintained by a Man, who to him is inſtead of a *God*. or *Melior natura*: Which courage

rage is manifeſtly ſuch, as that Creature without the confidence of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he reſteth and aſſureth himſelf upon Divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith, which Humane Nature in it ſelf could not obtain. Therefore as *Atheiſm* is in all reſpects hateful, ſo in this, that it depriveth Humane Nature of the means to exalt it ſelf above Humane Frailty. As it is in particular Perſons, ſo it is in Nations. Never was there ſuch a *State* for Magnanimity, as *Rome*. Of this *State* hear what *Cicero* ſaith, *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conſcripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hiſpanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos; nec denique hoc ipſo hujus Gentis & Terræ domeſtico nativoque ſenſu Italos ipſos & Latinos; ſed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac una Sapientia, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine, omnia regi gubernarique perſpeximus, omnes Gentes Nationeſque ſuperavimus.*

XVII.

Of Superſtition.

IT were better to have no opinion of *God* at all, than ſuch an opinion as is unworthy of him: For the one is Unbelief, the other is Contumely; and certainly *Superſtition* is the reproach of the *Deity*. *Plutarch* ſaith well to that purpoſe: *Surely* (ſaith he) *I had rather a great deal men ſhould ſay, there was no ſuch man at all as* Plutarch, *than that they ſhould ſay, that there was one* Plutarch, *that would eat his Children as ſoon as they were born*; as the Poets ſpeak of *Saturn*. And as the Contumely is greater towards *God*, ſo the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheiſm* leaves a man to Senſe, to Philoſophy, to Natural Piety, to Laws, to Reputation; all which may be guides to an outward Moral Vertue, though *Religion* were not; But *Superſtition* diſmounts all theſe, and erecteth

erecteth an abſolute Monarchy in the minds of Men. Therefore *Atheiſm* did never perturb *States*; for it makes men weary of themſelves, as looking no further: And we ſee the times inclined to *Atheiſm* (as the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*) were civil times. But *Superſtition* hath been the Confuſion of many States, and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that raviſheth all the Spheres of Government. The Maſter of *Superſtition* is the People; and in all *Superſtition*, Wiſe men follow Fools, and Arguments are fitted to Practice in a reverſed order. It was gravely ſaid by ſome of the Prelates in the *Council* of *Trent*, where the Doctrine of the School-men bare great ſway, *That the School-men were like Aſtronomers, which did feign Eccentricks, and Epicycles, and ſuch engines of Orbs, to ſave the Phænomena; though they knew there were no ſuch things.* And in like manner, that the School-men had framed a number of ſubtile and intricate *Axioms* and *Theorems*, to ſave the practice of the Church. The *Cauſes* of *Superſtitions* are, pleaſing and ſenſual Rites and Ceremonies: Exceſs of Outward and Phariſaical Holineſs: Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church: the Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre: the favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties: the taking an Aim at Divine Matters by Humane, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations: And laſtly, Barbarous Times, eſpecially joyned with Calamities and Diſaſters. *Superſtition* without a veil is a deformed thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an Ape to be ſo like a Man: ſo the ſimilitude of *Superſtition* to *Religion* makes it the more deformed. And as wholſome Meat corrupteth to little Worms: ſo good Forms and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Obſervances. There is a *Superſtition* in avoiding *Superſtition*, when men think to do beſt, if they go furtheſt from the *Superſtition* formerly received. Therefore Care would be had, that (as it fareth in ill Purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which

which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

XVIII.

Of Travel.

TRAVEL, in the younger Sort, is a part of Education; in the elder, a part of Experience. He that *Travelleth* into a Countrey before he hath ſome Entrance into the Language, goeth to *School* and not to *Travel.* That young men *Travel* under ſome Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well, ſo that he be ſuch a one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before, whereby he may be able to tell them, what things are worthy to be ſeen in the Countrey where they go, what Acquaintances they are to ſeek, what Exerciſes or Diſcipline the Place yieldeth. For elſe young men ſhall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a ſtrange thing, that in Sea-voyages, where there is nothing to be ſeen but Sky and Sea, men ſhould make Diaries; but in *Land-Travel,* wherein ſo much is to be obſerved, for the moſt part they omit it; as if Chance were fitter to be regiſtred than Obſervation. Let Diaries therefore be brought in uſe. The things to be ſeen and obſerved are the Courts of Princes, eſpecially when they give Audience to Embaſſadors: The Courts of Juſtice, while they ſit and hear Cauſes; and ſo of Conſiſtories Eccleſiaſtick: the Churches and Monaſteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: the Walls and Fortifications of Cities and Towns; and ſo the Havens and Harbors: Antiquities and Ruins: Libraries, Colleges, Diſputations and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Natives: Houſes and Gardens of State and Pleaſure near great Cities: Armories, Arſenals, Magazines, Exchanges, Burſes, Ware-houſes: Exerciſes

erciſes of Horſmanſhip, Fencing, Training of Souldiers, and the like: Comedies, ſuch whereunto the better ſort of Perſons do reſort. Treaſures of Jewels and Robes: Cabinets and Rarities. And to conclude, whatſoever is memorable in the Places where they go. After all which the Tutors or Servants ought to make diligent enquiry. As for Triumphs, Maſques, Feaſts, Weddings, Funerals, Capital Executions, and ſuch Shews; Men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his *Travel* into a little room, and in ſhort time to gather much, this you muſt do. Firſt, as we ſaid, he muſt have ſome entrance into the Language before he goeth. Then he muſt have ſuch a Servant or Tutor as knoweth the Countrey, as was likewiſe ſaid. Let him carry with him alſo ſome Chard or Book, deſcribing the Countrey where he *Travelleth*, which will be a good key to his Enquiry. Let him keep alſo a Diary. Let him not ſtay long in one City or Town, more or leſs, as the Place deſerveth, but not long: Nay, when he ſtayeth in one City or Town, let him change his Lodging from one end and part of the Town to another, which is a great Adamant of Acquaintance. Let him ſequeſter himſelf from the Company of his Countrey-men, and diet in ſuch Places where there is good Company of the Nation where he *Travelleth*. Let him upon his Removes from one Place to another, procure recommendation to ſome Perſon of Quality, reſiding in the Place whither he removeth, that he may uſe his Favour in thoſe things he deſireth to ſee or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travels* with much profit. As for the Acquaintance which is to be ſought in *Travel*, that which is moſt of all profitable, is Acquaintance with the Secretaries and employed Men of Embaſſadors; for ſo in *Travelling* in one Country, he ſhall ſuck the experience of many. Let him alſo ſee and viſit eminent Perſons, in all kinds, which are of great Name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the Life agreeth with the Fame.

For

For Quarrels, they are with Care and Diſcretion to be avoided: They are commonly for Miſtreſſes, Healths, Place, and Words. And let a Man beware how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarrelſome Perſons, for they will engage him into their own Quarrels. When a *Traveller* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries where he hath *Travelled*, altogether behind him, but maintain a Correſpondency by Letters with thoſe of his Acquaintance which are of moſt worth. And let his *Travel* appear rather in his Diſcourſe, than in his Apparel or Geſture; and in his Diſcourſe let him be rather adviſed in his Anſwers, than forward to tell Stories: And let it appear, that he doth not change his Countrey Manners for thoſe of Foreign Parts; but only prick in ſome Flowers of that he hath learned abroad, into the Cuſtoms of his own Countrey.

XIX.

Of Empire.

IT is a miſerable State of Mind, to have few things to deſire, and many things to fear, and yet that commonly is the Caſe of *Kings*, who being at the higheſt, want matter of deſire, which makes their minds more languiſhing, and have many Repreſentations of Perils and Shadows, which makes their minds the leſs clear. And this is one reaſon alſo of that effect which the Scripture ſpeaketh of; *That the King's heart is inſcrutable.* For, multitude of Jealouſies, and lack of ſome predominant deſire that ſhould marſhal and put in order all the reſt, maketh any Mans heart hard to find or ſound. Hence it comes likewiſe, that *Princes* many times make themſelves Deſire, and ſet their Hearts upon Toys: ſometimes upon a Building, ſometimes upon erecting of an Order, ſometimes upon the advancing of

of a Perſon, ſometimes upon obtaining excellency in ſome Art or Feat of the Hand; as *Nero* for playing on the Harp, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. This ſeemeth incredible unto thoſe that know not the principal; *That the mind of Man is more cheared and refreſhed by profiting in ſmall things, than by ſtanding at a ſtay in great.* We ſee alſo that the *Kings* that have been fortunate Conquerours in their firſt years, it being not poſſible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they muſt have ſome check or arreſt in their Fortunes, turn in their latter years to be Superſtitious and Melancholy: as did *Alexander* the Great, *Diocleſian*; and in our memory, *Charles* the Fifth, and others: For he that is uſed to go forward, and findeth a ſtop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To ſpeak now of the true Temper of *Empire*; It is a thing rare, and hard to keep; for both Temper and Diſtemper conſiſt of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to interchange them. The Anſwer of *Apollonius* to *Veſpaſian* is full of excellent Inſtruction; *Veſpaſian* asked him, *What was* Nero's *overthrow?* He anſwered, Nero *could touch and tune the Harp well, but in Government ſometimes he uſed to wind the pins too high, ſometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing deſtroyeth Authority ſo much, as the unequal and untimely interchange of Power *Preſſed* too far, and *Relaxed* too much.

This is true, that the Wiſdom of all theſe latter Times in *Princes* Affairs, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Miſchiefs, when they are near, than ſolid and grounded Courſes to keep them aloof. But this is but to try Maſteries with Fortune: and let men beware how they neglect and ſuffer matter of Trouble to be prepared: for no man can forbid the ſpark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in *Princes* Buſineſs are many and great; but the great-

eſt difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with *Princes* (ſaith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & inter ſe contrariæ.* For it is the Soleciſm of Power, to think to Command the end, and yet not endure the means.

Kings have to deal with their *Neighbours*, their *Wives*, their *Children*, their *Prelates* or *Clergie*, their *Nobles*, their *Second Nobles* or *Gentlemen*, their *Merchants*, their *Commons*, and their *Men of War*. And from all theſe ariſe Dangers, if Care and Circumſpection be not uſed.

Firſt, For their *Neighbours*: There can no general Rule be given (the occaſions are ſo variable) ſave one, which ever holdeth, which is, that *Princes* do keep due Centinel, that none of their *Neighbours* do over-grow ſo, (by increaſing of Territory, by imbracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, than they were. This is generally the work of ſtanding Counſels to foreſee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *King's*, *King Henry* the *8th* of *England*, *Francis* the *1ſt King* of *France*, and *Charles* the *5th Emperour*, there was ſuch a Watch kept, that none of the Three could win a Palm of Ground, but the other Two would ſtraight-ways balance it, either by Confederation, or if need were, by a War, and would not in any wiſe take up Peace at Intereſt. And the like was done by that League, (which *Guicciardine* ſaith, was the Security of *Italy*) made between *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, *Laurenzius Medices*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, Potentate, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Milain*. Neither is the opinion of ſome of the School-men to be received, *That a War cannot juſtly be made but upon a precedent Injury or Provocation.* For there is no queſtion, but a Fear of an imminent Danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawful Cauſe of a War.

For their *Wives*: There are cruel examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poyſoning of her Husband. *Roxana*, *Solyman's* Wife, was the deſtruction of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Muſtapha*, and otherwiſe troubled

bled his Houſe and Succeſſion: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen had the principal hand in the depoſing and murther of her Husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared, chiefly when the *Wives* have Plots for the raiſing of their own Children, or elſe that they be Advoutreſſes.

For their *Children*: The Tragedies likewiſe of dangers from them have been many. And generally the entring of Fathers into ſuſpicion of their *Children*, hath been ever unfortunate. The deſtruction of *Muſtapha* (that we named before) was ſo fatal to *Solyman*'s Line, as the *Succeſſion* of the *Turks* from *Solyman* until this day, is ſuſpected to be untrue, and of ſtrange blood; for that *Selymus* the ſecond was thought to be ſuppoſititious. The deſtruction of *Criſpus*, a young Prince of rare towardneſs, by *Conſtantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his Houſe; for both *Conſtantinus* and *Conſtance* his Son died violent Deaths; and *Conſtantius* his other Son did little better, who died indeed of Sickneſs, but after that *Julianus* had taken Arms againſt him. The deſtruction of *Demetrius*, Son to *Philip* the Second of *Macedon*, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are, but few or none where the Fathers had good by ſuch diſtruſt, except it were where the Sons were up in open Arms againſt them; as was *Selymus* the firſt againſt *Bajazet*, and the three Sons of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates*: When they are proud and great, there is alſo danger from them; as it was in the times of *Anſelmus* and *Thomas Becket*, Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury*, who with their Croſiers did almoſt try it with the Kings Sword; and yet they had to deal with ſtout and haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the Firſt, and *Henry* the Second. The danger is not from the *State*, but where it hath a dependance of Foreign Authority; or where the Church-men come in, and are elected, not by the collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles:* To keep them at a diſtance it is not amiſs, but to depreſs them may make a King more abſolute, but leſs ſafe, and leſs able to perform any thing that he deſires. I have noted it in my Hiſtory of King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who depreſſed his *Nobility*; whereupon it came to paſs, that his times were full of Difficulties and Troubles; for the *Nobility*, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his buſineſs; ſo that in effect he was fain to do all things himſelf.

For their *Second Nobles*: There is not much danger from them, being a Body diſperſed. They may ſometimes diſcourſe high, but that doth little hurt. Beſides they are a counterpoize to the higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too potent: and laſtly, being the moſt immediate in Authority with the Common People, they do beſt temper popular Commotions.

For their *Merchants:* They are *Vena porta*; and if they flouriſh not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nouriſh little. Taxes and Impoſts upon them, do ſeldom good to the King's Revenue; for that he wins in the Hundred, he looſeth in the Shire; the particular Rates being increaſed, but the total bulk of Trading rather decreaſed.

For their *Commons*: There is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent Heads, or where you meddle with the point of Religion, or their Cuſtoms, or means of Life.

For their *Men of War*: It is a dangerous State, where they live and remain in a Body, and are uſed to Donatives, whereof we ſee examples in the *Janizaries* and *Pretorian* Bands of *Rome*: But Trainings of Men, and Arming them in ſeveral places, and under ſeveral Commanders, and without Donatives, are things of Defence and no danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cauſe good or evil times; and which have much *Veneration*, but no *Reſt*. All Precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehend-

prehended in those two Remembrances, *Memento quod es Homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei*; the one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

XX.

Of Counsel.

THE greatest trust between Man and Man is the trust of *Giving Counsel*: For in other confidences Men commit the parts of Life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affair: but to such as they make their *Counsellors*, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest *Princes* need not think it any diminution to their Greatness, or derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counsel*. *God* himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great Names of his blessed Son: The *Counsellor*. *Solomon* hath pronounced, *that in Counsel is Stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation; if they be not tossed upon the arguments of *Counsel*, they will be tossed upon the waves of *Fortune*, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. *Solomon*'s Son found the force of *Counsel*, as his Father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved Kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill *Counsel*; upon which *Counsel* there are set for instruction the two marks, whereby *Bad Counsel* is for ever best discerned, that it was *young Counsel* for the Persons, and *violent Counsel* for the Matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure, both the incorporation, and inseparable conjunction of *Counsel* with *Kings*, and the wise and politick use of *Counsel* by *Kings*; the one in that they say, *Jupiter* did marry *Metis*, which signifieth *Counsel*, whereby they intend that

Soveraignty is married to *Counſel*; the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They ſay, after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, ſhe conceived by him, and was with Child: but *Jupiter* ſuffered her not to ſtay till ſhe brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himſelf with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed* out of his Head; which monſtrous Fable containeth a ſecret of *Empire*, how *Kings* are to make uſe of their *Council* of *State*. That firſt they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the firſt begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and ſhaped in the Womb of their *Council*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth, that then they ſuffer not their *Council* to go through with the reſolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the World, that the Decrees and final Directions (which, becauſe they come forth with *Prudence* and *Power*, are reſembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themſelves: And not only from their *Authority*, but (the more to add reputation to themſelves) from their *Head* and *Device*.

Let us now ſpeak of the *Inconveniencies* of *Counſel*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniences* that have been noted in calling and uſing *Counſel*, as three: Firſt, the revealing of Affairs, whereby they become leſs ſecret. Secondly, the weakning of the Authority of Princes, as if they were leſs of themſelves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully *Counſelled*, and more for the good of them that *Counſel*, than of him that is *Counſelled*. For which *Inconveniencies*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and practice of *France* in ſome Kings times, hath introduced *Cabinet Councils*; a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe.

As to *Secrecy*: *Princes* are not bound to *communicate* all matters with all *Counſellors*, but extract and ſelect. Neither is it neceſſary, that he that conſulteth what he ſhould do, ſhould declare what he will do. But

Princes

Princes beware, that the *unſecreting* of their Affairs comes not from themſelves. And as for *Cabinet Counſels*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenus rimarum ſum*: One futile Perſon, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt, than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true, there be ſome Affairs which require extream *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two Perſons beſide the *King*: Neither are thoſe *Counſels* unproſperous; for beſides the *Secrecy*, they commonly go on conſtantly in one Spirit of Direction without diſtraction. But then it muſt be a prudent King, ſuch as is able to grind with a *Hand-mill*; and thoſe *Inward Counſellors* had need alſo be wiſe Men, and eſpecially true and truſty to the King's ends; as it was with King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who in his greateſt buſineſs imparted himſelf to none, except it were to *Morton* and *Fox*.

For *weakning of Authority*: The Fable ſheweth the *Remedy*. Nay, the Majeſty of King's is rather exalted than diminiſhed, when they are in the Chair of *Counſel*. Neither was there ever *Prince* bereaved of his dependencies by his *Counſel*, except where there hath been either an over-greatneſs in one *Counſellor*, or an over-ſtrict combination in divers, which are things ſoon found and holpen.

For the laſt *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counſel with an Eye to themſelves*: Certainly, *Non inveniet fidem ſuper terram*, is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular Perſons. There be, that are in nature, faithful and ſincere, and plain, and direct, not crafty and involved: Let *Princes* above all draw to themſelves ſuch natures. Beſides *Counſellors* are not commonly ſo united, but that one *Counſellor* keepeth Centinel over another; ſo that if any do *Counſel*, out of faction, or private ends, it commonly comes to the King's Ear. But the beſt *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counſellors* as well as their *Counſellors* know them:

Principis eſt virtus maxima noſſe ſuos.

And on the other ſide, *Counſellors* ſhould not be too ſpeculative into their Soveraigns Perſon. The true compoſition of a *Counſellor*, is rather to be skill'd in their Maſters buſineſs, than in his Nature; for then he is like to adviſe him, and not to feed his humour. It is of ſingular uſe to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Counſel*, both ſeparately and together. For private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their own humours; and in conſort, Men are more obnoxious to others humours: therefore it is good to take both. And of the inferiour ſort, rather in private, to preſerve freedom; of the greater, rather in conſort, to preſerve reſpect. It is vain for *Princes* to take *Counſel*, concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counſel* likewiſe concerning *Perſons*: for all *Matters* are as dead Images; and the life of the execution of Affairs reſteth in the good choice of *Perſons*. Neither is it enough to conſult concerning Perſons, *ſecundum genera*, as in an *Idea* or *Mathematical Deſcription*, what the kind and character of the *Perſon* ſhould be; for the greateſt errors are committed, and the moſt judgment is ſhewn in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly ſaid, *Optimi Conſiliarii mortui*; *Books* will ſpeak plain when *Counſellors* blanch. Therefore it is good to be converſant in them, eſpecially the *Books* of ſuch as themſelves have been Actors upon the Stage.

The *Councils* at this day in moſt places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too ſwift to the Order or Act of *Counſel*. It were better, that in Cauſes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not ſpoken till the next day, *In nocte Conſilium*. So was it done in the Commiſſion of *Union* between *England* and *Scotland*, which was a grave and orderly Aſſembly. I

commend

commend ſet days for Petitions: for it gives both the Suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of Eſtate, that they may *Hoc agere*. In choice of Committees for ripening Buſineſs for the *Council*, it is better to chuſe indifferent Perſons, than to make an Indifferency, by putting in thoſe that are ſtrong on both ſides. I commend alſo ſtanding *Commiſſions*; as for Trade, for Treaſure, for War, for Suits, for ſome Provinces: For where there be divers particular *Councils*, and but one *Council* of *State*, (as it is in *Spain*) they are in effect no more than ſtanding *Commiſſions*; ſave that they have greater Authority. Let ſuch as are to inform *Councils* out of their particular Profeſſions (as Lawyers, Sea-men, Mint-men, and the like) be firſt heard before *Committees*, and then, as occaſion ſerves, before the *Council*. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a Tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour *Councils*, not to inform them. A long Table, and a ſquare Table, or Seats about the Walls, ſeem things of Form, but are things of Subſtance; for at a long Table, a few at the upper end in effect ſway all the buſineſs; but in the other Form, there is more uſe of the *Counſellors* Opinions that ſit lower. A *King*, when he preſides in *Council*, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for elſe *Counſellors* will but take the wind of him, and inſtead of giving *Free Counſel*, ſing him a Song of *Placebo*.

XXI.

Of Delays.

FORTUNE is like the *Market*, where many times if you can ſtay a little, the Price will fall. And again, it is ſometimes like *Sibylla*'s Offer, which at firſt offereth the Commodity at full, then conſumeth part and

and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the Common Verse) *turneth a bald Noddle, after she hath presented her Locks in Front, and no hold taken*; or at least turneth the handle of the Bottle first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater Wisdom, than well to time the Beginnings and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more Dangers have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approaches; for if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with two long Shadows (as some have been, when the Moon was low, and shone on their Enemies back, and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach Dangers to come on, by over-early Buckling towards them, is another extream. The Ripeness or Unripeness of the Occasion, (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions to *Argus* with his hundred eyes, and the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred hands; first to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet* of *Pluto*, which maketh the Politick Man go invisible, is *Secrecy* in the Counsel, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; like the motion of a Bullet in the air, which flyeth so swift, as it out-runs the Eye.

XXII.

Of Cunning.

WE take *Cunning* for a Sinister or Crooked Wisdom. And certainly there is great difference between a *Cunning* Man and a *Wise* Man, not only in point

point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well: so there are some that are good in Canvasses and Factions, that are otherwise Weak Men. Again, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; for many are perfect in Mens Humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of Business, which is the Constitution of one that hath studied Men more than Books. Such Men are fitter for Practice than for Counsel: and they are good but in their own Alley, turn them to new men, and they have lost their Aim: so as the old Rule to know a Fool from a Wise man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis*, doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men* are like Haberdashers of small Wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of *Cunning* to wait upon him, with whom you speak, with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept: For there may be many wise men that have secret Hearts and transparent Countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure Abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present dispatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal, with some other Discourse, that he be not too much awake to make Objections. I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that never came to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* with Bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some Discourse of Estate, that she might the less mind the Bills.

The like surprize may be made by moving things, when the party is in hast, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a Man would cross a Business, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foyl it.

The

The breaking off in the midſt of that one was about to ſay, as if he took himſelf up, breeds a greater Appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And becauſe it works better, when any thing ſeemeth to be gotten from you by Queſtion, than if you offer it of your ſelf; you may lay a Bait for a Queſtion, by ſhewing another Viſage and Countenance than you are wont; to the end, to give occaſion for the party to ask, what the matter is of the Change, as *Nehemiah* did; *And I had not before that time been ſad before the King.*

In things that are tender and unpleaſing, it is good to break the Ice by ſome whoſe words are of leſs weight, and to reſerve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, ſo that he may be asked the Queſtion upon the other Speech; as *Narciſſus* did in relating to *Claudius* the marriage of *Meſſalina* and *Silius.*

In things that a Man would not be ſeen in himſelf, it is a point of *Cunning* to borrow the name of the World, as to ſay; *The World ſays*, or, *There is a Speech abroad.*

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was moſt material in the *Poſt-ſcript*, as if it had been a By-matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have ſpeech, he would paſs over that he intended moſt, and go forth, and come back again and ſpeak of it, as a thing that he had almoſt forgot.

Some procure themſelves to be ſurprized at ſuch times, as it is like the party that they work upon will ſuddenly come upon them, and to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing ſomewhat which they are not accuſtomed; to the end they may be oppoſed of thoſe things, which of themſelves they are deſirous to utter.

It is a point of *Cunning*, to let fall thoſe Words in a mans own Name, which he would have another man learn

learn and uſe, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were Competitors for the Secretaries Place, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and yet kept good Quarter between themſelves, and would confer one with another upon the Buſineſs; and one of them ſaid, That to be a Secretary in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a tickliſh thing, and that he did not affect it: the other ſtrait caught up thoſe Words, and diſcourſed with divers of his Friends, That he had no reaſon to deſire to be a Secretary in the *Declining of a Monarchy*. The firſt man took hold of it, and found means it was told the *Queen*, Who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, took it ſo ill, as ſhe would never after hear of the other's Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *The turning of the Cat in Pan*; which is, when that which a man ſays to another, he lays it as if another had ſaid it to him; and to ſay truth, it is not eaſie, when ſuch a matter paſs'd between two, to make it appear from which of them it firſt moved and began.

It is a way that ſome men have to glance and dart at others, by juſtifying themſelves by Negatives; as to ſay, *This I did not*: As *Tigellinus* did towards *Burrhus*; *Se non diverſas ſpes, ſed incolumitatem Imperatoris ſimpliciter ſpectare.*

Some have in readineſs ſo many Tales and Stories, as there is nothing they would inſinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale, which ſerveth both to keep themſelves more in Guard, and carry it with more Pleaſure.

It is a good point of *Cunning*, for a man to ſhape the Anſwer he would have in his own Words and Propoſitions; for it makes the other party ſtick the leſs.

It is ſtrange, how long ſome men will lie in wait to ſpeak ſomewhat they deſire to ſay, and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over to come near it; it is a thing of great Patience, but yet of much Uſe.

A ſud-

A ſudden, bold, and unexpected Queſtion, doth many times ſurprize a man and lay him open: Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walked in *Paul's*, another ſuddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat ſtreight-ways he looked back.

But theſe ſmall Wares, and petty points of *Cunning* are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a Liſt of them: for that nothing doth more hurt in a State, than that *Cunning Men* paſs for *Wiſe*.

But certainly ſome there are, that know the Reſorts and Falls of Buſineſs, that cannot ſink into the Main of it: Like a Houſe that hath convenient Stairs and Entries, but never a fair Room. Therefore you ſhall ſee them find out pretty Looſes in the Concluſion, but are no ways able to examine or debate Matters: and yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some built rather upon the abuſing of others, and (as we now ſay) *Putting tricks upon them*; than upon the ſoundneſs of their own proceedings. But *Solomon* ſaith, *Prudens advertit ad greſſus ſuos, Stultus divertit ad dolos.*

XXIII.

Of Wiſdom for a Mans ſelf.

AN *Ant* is a *wiſe creature* for it ſelf, but it is a ſhrewd thing in an Orchard or Garden. And certainly men that are great *Lovers* of *Themſelves*, waſte the Publick. Divide with reaſon between *Self-love* and *Society*, and be ſo true to thy *Self*, as thou be not falſe to others, eſpecially to thy King and Country. It is a poor Center of a mans Actions, *Himſelf*. It is right Earth; for that only ſtands faſt upon its own Center; whereas all things that have affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Center of another which they benefit. The referring

ning of all to a *Mans Self*, is more tolerable in a Soveraign Prince; becauſe *Themſelves*, are not only *Themſelves*; but their Good and Evil is at the peril of the publick Fortune. But it is a deſperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatſoever Affairs paſs ſuch a mans hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which muſt needs be often Eccentrick to the ends of his Maſter or State: Therefore let Princes or States chuſe ſuch Servants as have not this mark; except they mean their Service ſhould be made but the acceſſary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious, is, that all proportion is loſt; it were diſ-proportion enough for the Servants good, to be preferred before the Maſters; but yet it is a greater extream, when a little good of the Servant ſhall carry things againſt the great good of the Maſters. And yet that is the caſe of bad *Officers*, Treaſurers, Ambaſſadours, Generals, and other falſe and corrupt Servants, which ſet a Byaſs upon their Bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their Maſters great and important Affairs. And for the moſt part, the Good which Servants receive, is after the model of their own fortune; but the Hurt they ſell for that Good, is after the model of their Maſters Fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extream *Self-Lovers*, as they will ſet an Houſe on fire, if it were but to roaſt their eggs: And yet theſe men many times hold credit with their Maſters, becauſe their ſtudy is but to pleaſe them, and profit *themſelves*; and for either reſpect they will abandon the good of their Affairs.

Wiſdom for a Man's ſelf is in many branches thereof a depraved thing. It is the *Wiſdom of Rats*, that will be ſure to leave the Houſe ſometime before it falls. It is the *Wiſdom of the Fox*, that thruſts out the *Badger*, who digged and made room for him. It is the *Wiſdom of Crocodiles*, that ſhed tears when they would devour. But that which is ſpecially to be noted, is, that thoſe which (as *Cicero* ſays of *Pompey*) are, *Sui amantes ſine rivali*,

are

are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time ſacrific'd to *Themſelves*, they become in the end *themſelves* Sacrifices to the Inconſtancy of Fortune, whoſe wings they thought by their *Self-Wiſdom* to have pinnioned.

XXIV.

Of Innovation.

AS the births of living Creatures at firſt are ill ſha pen, ſo are all *Innovations*, which are the birth of Time. Yet notwithſtanding, as thoſe that firſt bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy than moſt that ſucceed: So the firſt Precedent (if it be good) is ſeldom attained by imitation. For Ill to Mans nature, as it ſtands perverted, hath a natural motion, ſtrongeſt in continuance: But Good as a forced motion, ſtrongeſt at firſt. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation*; and he that will not apply new Remedies, muſt expect new Evils: for Time is the greateſt *Innovator*. And if Time of courſe alter things to the worſe, and Wiſdom and Counſel ſhall not alter them to the better, what ſhall be the end? It is true, that what is ſettled by cuſtom, though it be not good, yet at leaſt it is fit. And thoſe things which have long gone together are as it were confederate within themſelves, whereas new things piece not ſo well: But though they help by their utility, yet, they trouble by their Inconformity. Beſides, they are like *ſtrangers*, more admired, and leſs favoured. All this is true, if Time ſtood ſtill; which contrariwiſe moveth ſo round, that a froward retention of cuſtom is as turbulent a thing, as an *Innovation*: and they that reverence too much old times, are but a ſcorn to the new. It were good therefore, that men in their *Innovations* would follow the example of Time

it ſelf; which indeed *Innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, ſcarce to be perceived: for otherwiſe whatſoever is new, is unlooked for; and ever it mends ſome, and pairs other: And he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; and he that is hurt, for a Wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good alſo, not to try experiments in States, except the neceſſity be urgent, or the utility be evident; and well to beware, that it be the Reformation that draweth on the Change, and not the deſire of Change that pretendeth the Reformation. And laſtly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a ſuſpect: And as the Scripture ſaith, *That we make a ſtand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and diſcover what is the ſtreight and right way, and ſo to walk in it.*

XXV.

Of Diſpatch.

Affected Diſpatch is one of the moſt dangerous things to buſineſs that can be. It is like that which the Phyſicians call *Pre-digeſtion*, or *Haſty Digeſtion*, which is ſure to fill the Body full of Crudities, and ſecret ſeeds of Diſeaſes. Therefore meaſure not diſpatch by the times of ſitting, but by the advancement of the buſineſs. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or high Lift that makes the Speed; ſo in buſineſs, the keeping cloſe to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth *Diſpatch*. It is the care of ſome only to come off ſpeedily for the time, or to contrive ſome falſe periods of buſineſs, becauſe they may ſeem *Men* of *Diſpatch*. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off; and buſineſs ſo handled at ſeveral ſittings or meetings, goeth commonly

backward or forward in an unſteady manner. I knew a *Wiſe Man*, that had it for a by-word, when he ſaw men haſten to a Concluſion; *Stay a little, that we may make an end the ſooner.*

On the other ſide, *True Diſpatch* is a rich thing. For Time is the meaſure of Buſineſs, as Money is of Wares; and buſineſs is bought at a dear hand, where there is ſmall *Diſpatch*. The *Spartans* and *Spaniards* have been noted to be of ſmall *Diſpatch*, *Mivenga la Muerte de Spagna*, *Let my death come from* Spain, for then it will be ſure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to thoſe that give the firſt Information in Buſineſs; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches: for he that is put out of his own order, will go forward and backward, and more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been, if he had gone on in his own courſe. But ſometimes it is ſeen, that the Moderator is more troubleſome than the Actor.

Iterations are commonly loſs of time; but there is no ſuch gain of time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Queſtion*; for it chaſeth away many a frivolous Speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious Speeches are as fit for *Diſpatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long train is for a Race.

Prefaces, and Paſſages, and Excuſations, and other Speeches of reference to the Perſon, are great waſters of time; and though they ſeem to proceed of modeſty they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment or obſtruction in men's Wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of Speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Diſtribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Diſpatch*: ſo as the *Diſtribution* be not too ſubtle; for he that doth not divide will never enter well into buſineſs: and he that divideth

deth too much will never come out of it clearly. To chuſe time, is to ſave time, and an unſeaſonable motion is but beating the Air. There be three parts of Buſineſs; the *Preparation*, *the Debate* or *Examination*, and the *Perfection*; whereof if you look for *Diſpatch*, let the middle only be the work of many, and the firſt and laſt the work of few. The proceeding upon ſomewhat conceived in writing, doth for the moſt part facilitate *Diſpatch:* for though it ſhould be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of direction, than an *Indefinite*; as Aſhes are more generative than Duſt.

XXVI.

Of ſeeming Wiſe.

IT hath been an opinion, that the *French* are wiſer than they ſeem, and the *Spaniards* ſeem wiſer than they are. But howſoever it be between *Nations*, certainly it is ſo between Man and Man. For as the *Apoſtle* ſaith of *Godlineſs*, *Having a ſhew of Godlineſs, but denying the power thereof*; ſo certainly there are in points of wiſdom and ſufficiency, that do nothing or little very ſolemnly; *Magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridiculous thing, and fit for a Satyr, to perſons of judgment, to ſee what ſhifts theſe Formaliſts have, and what proſpectives to make *Superficies* to ſeem *Body*, that hath depth and bulk. Some are ſo cloſe reſerved, as they will not ſhew their Wares, but by a dark light; and ſeem always to keep back ſomewhat: And when they know within themſelves, they ſpeak of that they do not well know, would nevertheleſs ſeem to others, to know of that which they may not well ſpeak. Some help themſelves with countenance and geſture, and

are wiſe by Signs; as *Cicero* ſaith of *Piſo*, that when he anſwered him, he fetched one of his Brows up to his Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin: *Reſpondes, altero ad Frontem ſublato, altero ad Mentum depreſſo ſupercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it, by ſpeaking a great word, and being pertemptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatſoever is beyond their reach, will ſeem to deſpiſe or make light of it, as impertinent or curious, and ſo will have their ignorance ſeem Judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amuſing men with a ſubtilty, blanch the matter; of whom *A. Gellius* ſaith, *Hominem delirum qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kind alſo *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in ſcorn, and maketh him make a Speech, that conſiſteth of diſtinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally ſuch men in all deliberations find eaſe to be of the Negative ſide, and affect a credit to object and foretel difficulties: For when Propoſitions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which falſe point of wiſdom is the bane of buſineſs. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Beggar, hath ſo many tricks to uphold the credit of their Wealth, as theſe empty Perſons have to maintain the credit of their ſufficiency. *Seeming Wiſe Men* may make ſhift to get opinion, but let no man chuſe them for employment; for certainly you were better take for buſineſs a man ſomewhat abſurd, than over-formal.

XXVII. *Of*

XXVII.

Of Friendſhip.

IT had been hard for him that ſpake it, to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that Speech, *Whoſoever is delighted in ſolitude, is either a wild Beaſt, or a God.* For it is moſt true, that a natural and ſecret hatred, and averſation towards *Society* in any Man, hath ſomewhat of the ſavage Beaſt; but it is moſt untrue, that it ſhould have any character at all of the Divine Nature, except it proceed not out of a pleaſure in *Solitude*, but out of a love and deſire to ſequeſter a mans ſelf for a higher converſation; ſuch as is found to have been falſly and feignedly in ſome of the Heathen, as *Epimenides* the *Candian*, *Numa* the *Roman*, *Empedocles* the *Sicilian*, and *Apollonius* of *Tyana*; and truly and really in divers of the ancient Hermits and Holy Fathers of the Church. But little do men perceive what *Solitude* is, and how far it extendeth: for a Crown is not Company, and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures, and Talk but a *Thinking Cymbal*, where there is no *Love*. The Latine Adage meeteth with it a little, *Magna Civitas, magna ſolitudo*; becauſe in a great Town *Friends* are ſcattered, ſo that there is not that fellowſhip, for the moſt part, which is in leſs *Neighbourhoods*. But we may go further, and affirm moſt truly, that is a meer and miſerable *ſolitude* to want *Friends*, without which the World is but a Wilderneſs: and even in this Senſe alſo of *Solitude*, whoſoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections is unfit for *Friendſhip*, he taketh it of the Beaſt, and not from Humanity.

A Principal *Fruit* of *Friendſhip* is, the Eaſe and Diſcharge of the Fulneſs and Swellings of the Heart, which Paſſions of all kinds do cauſe and induce. We know

Diſeaſes of Stoppings and Suffocations are the moſt dangerous in the Body, and it is not much otherwiſe in Mind: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver, *Steel* to open the Spleen, *Flower* of *Sulphur* for the Lungs, *Caſtoreum* for the Brain; but no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart Griefs, Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suſpicions, Counſels, and whatſoever lieth upon the Heart to oppreſs it, in a kind of Civil Shrift or Confeſſion.

It is a ſtrange thing to obſerve, how high a Rate great Kings and Monarchs do ſet upon this *Fruit* of *Friendſhip* whereof we ſpeak; ſo great, as they purchaſe it many times at the hazard of their own Safety and Greatneſs. For Princes, in regard of the diſtance of their Fortune from that of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this Fruit, except (to make themſelves capable thereof) they raiſe ſome Perſons to be, as it were, Companions, and almoſt Equals to themſelves, which many times ſorteth to Inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto ſuch Perſons the name of *Favourites* or *Privadoes*, as if it were matter of Grace or Converſation. But the *Roman* name attaineth the true Uſe and Cauſe thereof, naming them *Participes Curarum*; for it is that which tyeth the knot. And we ſee plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and paſſionate Princes only, but by the Wiſeſt, and moſt Politick that ever reigned: who have oftentimes joyned to themſelves ſome of their Servants, whom both themſelves have called *Friends*, and allowed others likewiſe to call them in the ſame manner, uſing the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome*, raiſed *Pompey* (after ſurnamed the *Great*) to that Height, that *Pompey* vaunted himſelf for *Sylla*'s Over-match: for when he had carried the *Conſulſhip* for a friend of his againſt the purſuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little reſent thereat, and began to ſpeak great, *Pompey* turned upon him again, and in effect bad him be quiet; *For the*

more men adored the Sun-riſing than the Sun-ſetting. With *Julius*, *Decius Brutus* had obtained that Intereſt, as he ſet him down in his Teſtament, for Heir in Remainder after his *Nephew*. And this was the man that had power with him, to draw him forth to his Death. For when *Cæſar* would have diſcharged the Senate, in regard of ſome ill preſages, and eſpecially a Dream of *Calpurnia*; This man lifted him gently by the Arm out of his Chair, telling him, he hoped he would not diſmiſs the Senate, till his Wife had dreamed a better Dream. And it ſeemeth his favour was ſo great, as *Antonius* in a Letter which is recited *verbatim* in one of *Cicero*'s *Philippiques*, called him *Venefica*, *Witch*; as if he had enchanted *Cæſar*. *Auguſtus* raiſed *Agrippa* (though of mean Birth) to that Heighth, as when he conſulted with *Mæcenas* about the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, *Mæcenas* took the Liberty to tell him, *That he muſt either marry his Daughter to* Agrippa, *or take away his Life; there was no third way, he had made him ſo great.* With *Tiberius Cæſar*, *Sejanus* had aſcended to that Heighth, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of Friends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him, ſaith, *Hac pro Amicitia noſtra non occultavi*; and the whole Senate dedicated an Altar to *Friendſhip*, as to a *Goddeſs*, in reſpect of the great Dearneſs of *Friendſhip* between them two. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus* and *Plantianus*; for he forced his eldeſt Son to marry the Daughter of *Plantianus*, and would maintain *Plantianus* in doing affronts to his Son, and did write alſo in a Letter to the Senate theſe words; *I love the man ſo well, as I wiſh he may over love me.* Now if theſe Princes had been as a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, a Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodneſs of Nature; but being men ſo Wiſe, of ſuch ſtrength and ſeverity of Mind, and ſo extream Lovers of themſelves, as all theſe were; it proveth moſt plainly, that they found their own Felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal man) but as an half Piece, except they might have

a *Friend* to make it Entire; and yet, which is more, they were *Princes* that had Wives, Sons, Nephews, and yet all theſe could not ſupply the Comfort of *Friendſhip.*

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commines* obſerveth of his Maſter, *Duke Charles* the *Hardy*; namely, That he would communicate his Secrets with none; and leaſt of all thoſe Secrets which troubled him moſt. Whereupon he goeth on, and ſaith, that towards his latter time; *That cloſeneſs did impair, and a little periſh his underſtanding.* Surely, *Commines* might have made the ſame Judgment alſo, if it had pleaſed him, of his ſecond Maſter, *Lewis* the Eleventh, whoſe Cloſeneſs was indeed his Tormentor. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but true, *Cor ne edito, Eat not the Heart.* Certainly if a man would give it a hard Phraſe, thoſe that want *Friends* to open themſelves unto, are Cannibals of their own *Hearts.* But one thing is moſt admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this firſt *Fruit* of *Friendſhip,*) which is, That this Communicating of a Man's Self to a *Friend,* works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth *Joys,* and cutteth *Griefs* in Halfs; for there is no man that imparteth his *Joys* to his *Friend,* but he *Joyeth* the more; and no man that imparteth his *Griefs* to his *Friend,* but he *grieveth* the leſs. So that it is in truth an Operation upon a Man's mind of like virtue, as the *Alchymiſts* uſe to attribute to their Stone for Man's Body, that it worketh all contrary effects, but ſtill to the Good and Benefit of Nature; but yet without bringing in the Aid of *Alchymiſts,* there is a manifeſt Image of this in the ordinary courſe of Nature: For in Bodies *Union* ſtrengthneth and cheriſheth any natural Action; and on the other ſide, weakneth and dulleth any violent Impreſſion; and even ſo it is of Minds.

The ſecond *Fruit* of *Friendſhip* is Healthful and Soveraign for the *Underſtanding,* as the firſt is for the Affections: for *Friendſhip* maketh indeed a *fair Day* in the *Affections* from Storm and Tempeſts; but it maketh *Day-light* in the *Affections* from Tempeſts; but it maketh *Day-*

light

light in the *Underſtanding* out of Darkneſs and Confuſion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be underſtood only of Faithful Counſel which a man receiveth from his *Friend*: but before you come to that, certain it is, that whoſoever hath his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wits and Underſtanding do clarifie and break up in the Communicating and Diſcourſing with another; he toſſeth his Thoughts more eaſily, he marſhalleth them more orderly, he ſeeth how they look when they are turned into words. Finally, he waxeth wiſer than Himſelf; and that more by an hours Diſcourſe, than by a days Meditation. It was well ſaid by *Themiſtocles* to the King of *Perſia*, *That Speech was like Cloth of Arras opened and put abroad; whereby the Imagery doth appear in Figure, whereas in Thoughts they lie but as in Packs.* Neither is this ſecond *Fruit* of *Friendſhip*, in opening the *Underſtanding*, reſtrained only to ſuch *Friends* as are able to give a Man Counſel; (they indeed are beſt) but even without that a Man learneth of himſelf, and bringeth his own Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as againſt a Stone, which its ſelf cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himſelf to a Statue or Picture, than to ſuffer his Thoughts to paſs in ſmother.

And now, to make this ſecond *Fruit* of *Friendſhip* compleat, that other Point which lieth open, and falleth within Vulgar Obſervation, which is *Faithful Counſel* from a *Friend*. *Heraclitus* ſaith well in one of his Ænigma's; *Dry Light is ever the beſt.* And certain it is, that the Light that a Man receiveth by *Counſel* from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own *Underſtanding* and *Judgment*, which is ever infuſed and drenched in his *Affections* and Cuſtoms, ſo as there is as much difference between the *Counſel* that a *Friend* giveth, and that a man giveth himſelf, as there is between the *Counſel* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*; for there is no ſuch *Flatterer* as is a Man's Self; and there is no ſuch remedy againſt *Flattery* of a man's ſelf, as the liberty of a *Friend*. *Counſel* is of two ſorts; the one

one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Buſineſs*. For the firſt; the beſt preſervative to keep the Mind in Health, is the faithful Admonition of a *Friend*. The calling of a Man's ſelf to a ſtrict account is a Medicine ſometime too piercing and Corroſive. Reading good Books of Morality, is a little Flat and Dead. Obſerving our Faults in others, is ſometimes unproper for our caſe. But the beſt Receipt (beſt, I ſay) to work, and beſt to take, is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a ſtrange thing to behold, what groſs Errors, and extream abſurdities many (eſpecially of the greater ſort) do commit, for want of a *Friend* to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their Fame and Fortune: for, as St. *James* ſaith, they were as Men *that look ſometimes into a Glaſs, and preſently forget their own ſhape and favour*. As for *Buſineſs*, a man may think, if he will, that two Eyes ſee no more than one; or that a Gameſter ſeeth always more than a Looker on; or that a Man in Anger is as wiſe as he that hath ſaid over the four and twenty Letters; or that a Muſket may be ſhot off as well upon the Arm, as upon a Reſt; and ſuch other fond and high Imaginations, to think himſelf All in All. But when all is done, the help of good *Counſel* is that which ſetteth Buſineſs ſtreight; and if any man think that he will take *Counſel*, but it ſhall be by pieces, asking *Counſel* in one buſineſs of one man, and in another buſineſs of another man; it is well, (that is to ſay, better perhaps than if he asked none at all) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he ſhall not faithfully be Counſelled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire *Friend*, to have *Counſel* given, but ſuch as ſhall be bowed and crooked to ſome ends, which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he ſhall have *Counſel* given, hurtful and unſafe, (though with good meaning) and mixt; partly of miſchief, and partly of remedy: even as if you would call a Phyſician, that is thought good for the Cure of the Diſeaſe you complain of, but is unacquainted with your Body; and therefore may put you in

in a way for preſent Cure, but overthroweth your Health in ſome other kind, and ſo cure the Diſeaſe, and kill the Patient. But a *Friend* that is wholly acquainted with a Man's Eſtate, will beware by furthering any preſent *Buſineſs*, how he daſheth upon other Inconvenience; and therefore reſts not upon *ſcattered Counſels*, for they will rather diſtract and miſ-lead, than ſettle and direct.

After theſe two noble *Fruits* of *Friendſhip*, (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgment*) followeth the laſt *Fruit* which is like the *Pomegranate*, full of many kernels; I mean *Aid*, and *Bearing a part* in all *Actions* and *Occaſions*. Here the beſt way to repreſent to the life the manifold uſe of *Friendſhip*, is to caſt and ſee, how many things there are, which a man cannot do himſelf; and then it will appear, that it was a ſparing Speech of the Ancients, to ſay, *That a Friend is another himſelf*; for that a *Friend* is far more than *himſelf*. Men have their time, and die many times in deſire of ſome things, which they principally take to *heart*; The beſtowing of a Child, the finiſhing of a work, or the like. If a Man have a true *Friend*, he may reſt almoſt ſecure, that the care of thoſe things will continue after him: ſo that a Man hath as it were two Lives in his deſires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a place; but where *Friendſhip* is, all Offices of Life are as it were granted to him and his Deputy; for he may exerciſe them by his *Friend*. How many things are there, which a Man cannot, with any face or comlineſs, ſay or do himſelf? A man can ſcarce alledge his own merits with modeſty, much leſs extol them: A man cannot ſometimes brook to ſupplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all theſe things are graceful in a *Friend's* mouth, which are bluſhing in a man's own. So again, a man's Perſon hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A man cannot ſpeak to his Son, but as a Father; to his Wife but as a Husband; to his Enemy, but upon terms. Whereas a

Friend

Friend may ſpeak as the caſe requires and not as it ſorteth with the Perſon: But to enumerate theſe things were endleſs: I have given the Rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part: If he have not a *Friend*, he may quit the Stage.

XXVIII.

Of Expence.

RICHES are for ſpending, and ſpending for Honour and good Actions: Therefore *Extraordinary Expence* muſt be limited by the worth of the occaſion. For *Voluntary Undoing* may be as well for a man's *Country*, as for the *Kingdom of Heaven*, but *Ordinary Expence* ought to be limited by a Man's Eſtate, and governed with ſuch regard, as it be within his compaſs, and not ſubject to deceit and abuſe of Servants, and ordered to the beſt ſhew, that the Bills may be leſs than the Eſtimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his *Ordinary Expences* ought to be but to the half of his Receipts: And if he think to wax Rich, but to the third part. It is no baſeneſs for the greateſt to deſcend and look into their own *Eſtate*. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themſelves into melancholy, in reſpect they ſhall find it broken; but Wounds cannot be cured without ſearching. He that cannot look into his own Eſtate at all, had need both chuſe well thoſe whom he employeth, and change them oftner; for new are more timorous, and leſs ſubtle. He that can look into his Eſtate but ſeldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainty. A man had need, if he be plentiful in ſome kind of *Expence*, to be as ſaving again in ſome other: as if he be plentiful in Diet, to be ſaving in Apparel: If he be plentiful in the Hall, to be ſaving in the Stable, and the like. For he that is plentiful in *Expences* of all kinds, will

will hardly be preſerved from decay. In clearing of a man's Eſtate, he may as well hurt himſelf, in being too ſudden, as in letting it run on too long. For haſty Selling is commonly as diſadvantageous as Intereſt. Beſides, he that clears at once will relapſe; for finding himſelf out of ſtreights, he will revert to his cuſtoms: But he that cleareth by degrees, induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his Eſtate. Certainly, who hath a State to repair, may not deſpiſe ſmall things: and commonly it is leſs diſhonourable to abridge petty Charges, than to ſtoop to petty Gettings. A man ought warily to begin Charges, which once begun will continue; but in matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

XXIX.

Of the true Greatneſs of Kingdoms and Eſtates.

THE Speech of *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking ſo much to himſelf, had been a grave and wiſe obſervation and cenſure, applyed at large to others, Deſired at a Feaſt to touch a Lute, he ſaid, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a ſmall Town a great City.* Theſe words, (holpen a little with a Metaphor) may expreſs two differing abilities in thoſe that deal in buſineſs of Eſtate. For if a true Survey be taken of Counſellors and Stateſmen, there may be found (though rarely) thoſe which can make a *ſmall State great*, and yet cannot *fiddle*: As on the other ſide, there will be found a great many that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are ſo far from being able to make a *ſmall State great*, as their Gift lieth the

the other way, to bring a great and flouriſhing Eſtate to ruine and decay. And certainly thoſe degenerate Arts and Shifts, whereby many Counſellors and Governours gain both favour with their Maſters, and eſtimation with the Vulgar, deſerve no better name than *Fidling*, being things rather pleaſing for the time, and graceful to themſelves only, than tending to the weal and advancement to the State which they ſerve. There are alſo (no doubt) Counſellors and Governours which may be held ſufficient (*Negotiis pares*) able to manage Affairs, and to keep them from *Precipices*, and manifeſt inconveniences, which nevertheleſs are far from the ability to raiſe and amplifie an Eſtate in power, means, and fortune. But be the Workmen what they may be, let us ſpeak of the Work; That is, the *true Greatneß of Kingdoms and Eſtates*, and the *Means* thereof. An Argument fit for Great and Mighty Princes to have in their hand, to the end, that neither by over-meaſuring their Forces, they leeſe themſelves in vain Enterpriſes; nor on the other ſide, by undervaluing them, they deſcend to fearful and puſillanimous *Counſels*.

The *Greatneß* of an Eſtate in Bulk and Territory, doth fall under meaſure; and the *Greatneß* of Finances and Revenue, doth fall under computation. The Population may appear by Muſters, and the Number and Greatneſs of Cities and Towns by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any thing among Civil Affairs, more ſubject to error, than the right valuation, and true judgment, concerning the Power and Forces of an Eſtate.

The *Kingdom of Heaven* is compared not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a *Grain of Muſtard-ſeed*, which is one of the leaſt Grains, but hath in it a property and Spirit haſtily to get up and ſpread. So are their States great in Territory, and yet not apt to Enlarge or Command; and ſome that have but a ſmall dimenſion of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

Walled

Walled Towns, Stored Arſenals and Armouries, Goodly Races of Horſe, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a Sheep in a Lions skin, except the breed and diſpoſition of the People be ſtout and warlike. Nay, Number (it ſelf) in Armies importeth not much, where the People is of weak courage: For, (as *Virgil* ſaith) *It never troubles a Wolf, how many the ſheep be.* The Army of the *Perſians*, in the Plains of *Arbela*, was ſuch a vaſt Sea of People, as it did ſomewhat aſtoniſh the Commanders in *Alexander*'s Army; who came to him therefore, and wiſhed him to ſet upon them by night; but he anſwered, *He would not pilfer the Victory:* And the deſeat was eaſie.

When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being encamped upon a Hill with 400000 Men, diſcovered the Army of the *Romans*, being not above 14000 marching towards him, he made himſelf merry with it, and ſaid, *Yonder Men are too many for an Ambaſſage, and too few for a Fight:* But before the Sun ſet, he found them enough to give him the Chaſe with infinite ſlaughter. Many are the examples of great odds between Number and Courage; ſo that a man may truly make a judgment, That the principal point of *Greatneſs* in any *State*, is, to have a Race of Military men. Neither is Money the Sinews of War, (as it is trivially ſaid) where the Sinews of Mens Arms in Baſe and Effeminative People are failing. For *Solon* ſaid well to *Cræſſus*, (when in oſtentation he ſhewed him his *Gold*) *Sir, If any other come, that hath better Iron than you, he will be Maſter of all this Gold.* Therefore let any Prince or State think ſoberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natives be of good and valiant Soldiers. And let Princes on the other ſide, that have Subjects of Martial diſpoſition, know their own ſtrength, unleſs they be otherwiſe wanting unto themſelves. As for *Mercenary Forces*, (which is the Help in this Caſe) all examples ſhew, that whatſoever Eſtate or Prince doth reſt upon them, *He may ſpread his*

his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them ſoon after.

The *Bleſſing* of *Judas* and *Iſſachar* will never meet, *That the ſame People or Nation ſhould be both the Lions whelp, and Aſs between Burthens:* Neither will it be, that a People over-laid with *Taxes*, ſhould ever become Valiant and Martial. It is true, that *Taxes* levied by Conſent of the State, do abate mens Courage leſs, as it hath been ſeen notably in the *Exciſes* of the *Low Countries*; and in ſome degree, in the *Subſidies* of *England*: for you muſt note, that we ſpeak now of the Heart, and not of the Purſe. So that although the ſame *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Conſent, or by Impoſing, be all one to the Purſe, yet it works diverſly upon the Courage: ſo that you may conclude, *That no People, overcharged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aim at *Greatneſs* take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen* do multiply too faſt: For that maketh the Common Subject grow to be a Peaſant, and a baſe Swain, driven out of Heart, and in effect but a *Gentlemans* Laborour: even as you may ſee in Coppice Woods. *If you leave your Stadles too thick, you ſhall never have clean Underwood, but Shrubs and Buſhes.* So in *Countries*, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be baſe: and you will bring it to that, that not the hundredth Poll will be fit for an Helmet; eſpecially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerve of an Army; and ſo there will be great Population and little Strength. This which I ſpeak of, hath been no where better ſeen, than by comparing of *England* and *France*: whereof *England*, though far leſs in Territory and Population hath been nevertheleſs an Over-match; in regard the *Middle People* of *England* make good Soldiers, which the *Peaſants* of *France* do not. And herein the device of King *Henry* the Seventh (whereof I have ſpoken largely in the *Hiſtory of his Life*) was Profound and Admirable in making Farms and Houſes of Husbandry, of a Standard: that is, maintained with ſuch a Proportion of Land unto them, as may breed a ſubject to

live in Convenient Plenty, and no Servile Condition; and to keep the Plough in the hands of the Owners and not meer Hirelings. And thus indeed you ſhall attain to *Virgil*'s Character which he gives to Ancient *Italy*

——— *Terra potens armiſque atque ubere Gleba.*

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almoſt peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where elſe, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be paſſed over; I mean the *State* of *Free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, which are no ways inferiour to the *Yeomanry* for Arms: and therefore, out of all Queſtion, the Spendor and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hoſpitality of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* received into cuſtom, doth much conduce unto *Martial Greatneſs*: Whereas contrariwiſe, the cloſe and reſerving Living of *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, cauſeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all means it is to be procured, that the *Trunk* of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough to bear the Branches, and the Boughs; that is, That the *Natural Subjects* of the Crown or State, bear a ſufficient Proportion to the *Stranger Subjects* that they govern. Therefore all States that are liberal of Naturalization towards Strangers are fit for *Empire*. For to think that an Handful of People can with the greateſt Courage and Policy in the World, embrace too large extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail ſuddenly. The *Spartans* were a nice People in point of Naturalization; whereby, while they kept their compaſs they ſtood firm; but when they did ſpread, and their Boughs were become too great for their Stem, they became a Wind-fall upon the ſudden. Never any State was in this Point ſo open to receive *Strangers* into their Body, as were the *Romans*, therefore it ſorted with them accordingly: for they grew to the greateſt *Monarchy*. Their manner was to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the

higheſt Degree; that is, not only *Jus Commercii*, *Jus Connubii*, *Jus Hæreditatis*, but alſo *Jus ſuffragii*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to ſingular Perſons alone, but likewiſe to whole Families; yea, to Cities, and ſometimes to Nations. Add to this their Cuſtom of *Plantation* of *Colonies*, whereby the *Roman* Plant was removed into the Soyl of other Nations; and putting both Conſtitutions together, you will ſay, that it was not the *Romans* that ſpread upon the *World*, but it was the *World* that ſpread upon the *Romans*; and that was the ſure Way of *Greatneſs*. I have marvelled ſometimes at *Spain*, how they claſp and contain ſo large Dominions with ſo few natural *Spaniards*: but ſure the whole Compaſs of *Spain* is a very great Body of a Tree, far above *Rome* and *Sparta* at the firſt: and beſides, though they have not had that uſage to Naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, *To employ, almoſt indifferently, all Nations in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*: yea, and ſometimes in their *Higheſt Commands*. Nay, it ſeemeth at this inſtant, they are ſenſible of this want of Natives, as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now publiſhed, appeareth.

It is certain, that *Sedentary* and *Within-door Arts*, and delicate Manufactures, (that require rather the Finger, than the Arm) have in their Nature a Contrariety to a Military diſpoſition. And generally all Warlike People are a little idle, and love Danger better than Travel: neither muſt they be too much broken of it, if they ſhall be preſerved in vigour. Therefore it was great Advantage in the Ancient States of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Rome*, and others, that they had the uſe of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid thoſe Manufactures: but that is aboliſhed in greateſt part by the *Chriſtian Law*. That which cometh neareſt to it, is to leave thoſe Arts chiefly to Strangers (which for that purpoſe are the more eaſily to be received) and to contain the principal Bulk of the vulgar Natives within thoſe three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground, *Free Servants*, and *Handicrafts* Men of ſtrong and

and manly Arts; as Smiths, Maſons, Carpenters, *&c.* not rekoning profeſſed Soldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatneſs* it importeth moſt, that a Nation do profeſs Arms as their principal Honour: Study and Occupation: for the things which we formerly have ſpoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Arms; and what is *Habilitation*, without *Intention* and *Act*? *Romulus* after his death (as they report or feign) ſent a preſent to the *Romans*, that above all they ſhould intend Arms, and then they ſhould prove the greateſt *Empire* of the world. The fabrick of the *State* of *Sparta* was wholly (though not wiſely) framed and compoſed to that Scope and End. The *Perſians* and *Macedonians* had it for a flaſh. The *Galls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others had it for a time. The *Turks* have it at this day, though in great Declination. Of Chriſtian *Europe*, they that have it, are in effect only the *Spaniards*. But it is ſo plain, *That every Man profiteth in that he moſt intendeth*, that it needeth not to be ſtood upon. It is enough to point at it, that no Nation which doth not directly profeſs Arms, may look to have *Greatneſs* fall into their mouths. And on the other ſide, it is a moſt certain Oracle of Time, that thoſe States that continue long in that profeſſion (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do wonders; and thoſe that have profeſſed Arms but for an Age, have notwithſtanding commonly attained that *Greatneſs* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profeſſion and exerciſe of Arms are grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is, for a State to have thoſe Laws or Cuſtoms which may reach forth unto them juſt Occaſions (as may be pretended) of War: for there is that juſtice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof ſo many Calamities do enſue) but upon ſome, or at leaſt ſpecious Grounds and Quarrels. The *Turk* hath at hand, for cauſe of War, the Propagation of his Law or Sect, a

Quarrel that he may always command. The *Romans*, though they eſteemed the extending the Limits of their Empire to be great Honour to their Generals, when it was done; yet they never reſted upon that alone to begin a War. Firſt therefore, let Nations that pretend to *Greatneſs*, have this; that they be ſenſible of wrongs, either upon Borders, Merchants, or Politick Miniſters, and that they ſit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be preſt, and ready to give Aids and Succours to their Confederates; as it ever was with the *Romans*: Inſomuch as if the Confederate had Leagues defenſive with divers others States, and upon Invaſion offered, did deplore their Aids ſeverally; yet the *Romans* would ever be the foremoſt, and leave it to none other to have the Honour. As for the Wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of Party, or tacit Conformity of Eſtate, I do not well ſay, how they may be well juſtified: As when the *Romans* made a War for the Liberty of *Græcia*; or when the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* made Wars to ſet up or pull down *Democracies* and *Oligarchies*; or when Wars were made by Foreigners, under the pretence of Juſtice or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others from Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and the like. Let it ſuffice, That no Eſtate expect to be *Great*, that is not awake, upon any juſt Occaſion of Arming.

No Body can be Healthful without *Exerciſe*, Neither Natural Body, nor Politick; and certainly to a *Kingdom* or *Eſtate*, a juſt and Honourable War is the true *Exerciſe*. A Civil War indeed is like the Heat of a Fever; but a Foreign War is like the Heat of *Exerciſe*, and ſerveth to keep the Body in health: for in a ſlothful Peace both Courages will effeminate, and Manners corrupt. But howſoever it be for Happineſs without all Queſtion; for *Greatneſs*, it maketh to be ſtill, for the moſt part in Arms; and the ſtrength of a Veterane Army (though it be a chargeable Buſineſs) always on Foot, is that which commonly giveth the Law,

Law, or at leaſt the Reputation amongſt all Neighbour-States; as may well be ſeen in *Spain*, which hath had in one part or other a Veterane Army, almoſt continually, now by the ſpace of ſixſcore years.

To be Maſter of the *Sea*, in an Abridgment of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey* his *Preparation* againſt *Cæſar*, ſaith, *Conſilium Pompeii planè Themiſtocleum eſt; Putat enim qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri.* And without doubt *Pompey* had tired out *Cæſar*, if upon vain Confidence he had not left that Way. We ſee the great effects of Battels by *Sea*. The Battel of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battel of *Lepanto* arreſted the Greatneſs of the *Turk*. There be many examples, where *Sea Fights* have been Final to the War: but this is when Princes or States have ſet up their Reſt upon the Battels. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the War, as he will; whereas thoſe that be ſtrongeſt by Land, are many times nevertheleſs in great ſtreights. Surely at this day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of ſtrength at Sea (which is one of the principal Dowries of this Kingdom of *Great Britain*) is great: both becauſe moſt of the Kingdoms of *Europe* are not meerly In-land, but girt with the *Sea*, moſt part of their Compaſs; and becauſe the Wealth of both *Indies* ſeem in great part but an Acceſſary to the Command of the *Seas*.

The *Wars* of *Latter Ages* ſeem to be made in the Dark, in reſpect of the Glory and Honour which reflected upon Men from the *Wars* in *Ancient Time*. There be now for Martial Encouragement, ſome Degrees and Orders of Chivalry, which nevertheleſs are conferred promiſcuouſly upon Souldiers, and no Souldiers; and ſome Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutcheon; and ſome Hoſpitals for maimed Soldiers, and ſuch like things. But in Ancient Times, the *Trophies* erected upon the place of the Victory; the Funeral Laudatives and Mo-

numents for thoſe that died in the Wars; the Crowns and Garlands perſonal; the Style of Emperor, which the great King of the World after borrowed; the Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return; the great Donatives and Largeſſes upon the Disbanding of the Armies, were things able to enflame all mens Courages. But above all, that of the Triumph amongſt the *Romans*, was not Pageant or Gaudary, but one of the Wiſeſt and Nobleſt Inſtitutions that ever was: for it contained three things: Honour to the General; Riches to the Treaſury out of the Spoil; and Donatives to the Army. But that Honour perhaps were not fit for *Monarchies*, except it be in the Perſon of the *Monarch* himſelf, or his Sons; as it came to paſs in the times of the *Roman Emperors*, who did impropriate the Actual Triumphs to themſelves, and their Sons, for ſuch Wars as they did atchieve in Perſons; and left only for Wars atchieved by Subjects, ſome Triumphal Garments and Enſigns to the General.

To conclude, No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* ſaith) *add a cubit to his Stature*, in this little Model of a *Mans Body*; but in the great Frame of *Kingdoms* and *Common-wealths*, it is in the power of Princes or Eſtates to add Amplitude and *Greatneſs* to their *Kingdoms*. For by introducing ſuch Ordinances, Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms, as we have now touched, they may ſow *Greatneſs* to their Poſterity and Succeſſion. But theſe things are commonly not obſerved, but left to take their chance.

XXX.

Of Regiment of Health.

THERE is a Wiſdom in this beyond the Rules of *Phyſick*: A Mans own obſervation what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the beſt *Phyſick*

to preſerve Health. But it is a ſafer concluſion to ſay, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*, than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may uſe it.* For ſtrength of Nature in Youth paſſeth over many Exceſſes which are owing by a Man till his Age. Diſcern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the ſame things ſtill; for Age will not be defied. Beware of ſudden change in any great point of Diet; and if neceſſity inforce it, fit the reſt to it: For it is a ſecret both in Nature and State, that it is ſafer to change many things than one. Examine thy Cuſtoms of Diet, Sleep, Exerciſe, Apparel, and the like: And try in any thing thou ſhalt judge hurtful, to diſcontinue it by little and little; but ſo, as if thou doſt find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: For it is hard to diſtinguiſh that which is generally held good and wholeſome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for a mans own Body. To be free minded, and chearfully diſpoſed at hours of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exerciſe, is one of the beſt precepts for long Life. As for the Paſſions and Studies of the Mind; avoid envy, anxious Fears, Anger fretting inwards, ſubtil and knotty Inquiſitions, Joys, and Exhilarations in Exceſs, Sadneſs not communicated; entertain Hopes, Mirth rather than Joy, variety of Delights, rather than Surfeit of them, Wonder and Admiration, and therefore Novelties, Studies that fill the mind with ſplendid and illuſtrious Objects, as Hiſtories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you fly Phyſick in *Health* altogether, it will be too ſtrange for your Body when you ſhall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when Sickneſs cometh. I commend rather ſome Diet for certain Seaſons, than frequent uſe of *Phyſick*, except it be grown into a cuſtom: For thoſe Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it leſs. Deſpiſe no new accident in your Body, but ask opinion of it. In *Sickneſs* reſpect *Health* Principally, and in *Health*, *Action*: For thoſe that put their Bodies

to endure in *Healths* may in moſt *Sickneſſes*, which are not very ſharp, be cured only with Diet and tending. *Celſus* could never have ſpoken it as a *Phyſician*, had he not been a wiſe Man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great Precepts of Health and Laſting, That a Man do vary, and enterchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extream. Uſe Faſting and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting and Exerciſe, but rather Exerciſe, and the like: So ſhall Nature be cheriſhed, and yet taught Maſteries. *Phyſicians* are ſome of them ſo pleaſing, and conformable to the humour of the Patient, as they preſs not the true cure of the Diſeaſe; and ſome other are ſo regular, in proceeding according to Art for the Diſeaſe, as they reſpect not ſufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either ſort; and forget not to call as well the beſt acquainted with your Body, as the beſt reputed of for his Faculty.

XXXI.

Of Suſpicion.

SUSPICIONS amongſt thoughts are like Bats amongſt Birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repreſſed, or at leaſt well guarded; for they cloud the Mind, they leeſe Friends, that they check with Buſineſs, whereby Buſineſs cannot go on currant and conſtantly. They diſpoſe Kings to Tyranny, Huſbands to Jealouſie, Wiſe Men to Irreſolution and Melancholy. They are defects, not in the Heart, but in the Brain; for they take place in the ſtouteſt Natures: As in the example of *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, there was not a more *Suſpicious* Man, nor a more Stout: And

And in ſuch a compoſition they do ſmall hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination whether they be likely or no; but in fearful Natures they gain ground too faſt. There is nothing makes a Man *ſuſpect* much, more than to know little; and therefore Men ſhould remedy *Suſpicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suſpicions* in ſmother. What would Men have? Do they think thoſe they imploy and deal with are Saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themſelves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to *moderate Suſpicions*, than to account upon ſuch *Suſpicions* as true, and yet to bridle them as falſe. For ſo far a Man ought to make uſe of *Suſpicions*, as to provide, as if that ſhould be true that he *ſuſpects*, yet it may do him no hurt. *Suſpicions* that the mind of it ſelf gathers are but Buzzes, but *Suſpicions* that are artificially nouriſhed, and put into *Mens heads* by the *tales* and whiſpering of others, have Stings. Certainly the beſt means to clear the way in this ſame Wood of *Suſpicions*, is frankly to communicate them with the Party that he *ſuſpects*; for thereby he ſhall be ſure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal, ſhall make that Party more circumſpect, not to give further cauſe of *Suſpicion*. But this would not be done to Men of baſe Natures: For they, if they find themſelves once *ſuſpected*, will never be true. The *Italians* ſay, *Soſpetto licentia fede*; as if *Suſpicion* did give a Paſsport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to diſcharge it ſelf.

XXXII.

Of Diſcourſe.

SOME in their *Diſcourſe* deſire rather commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgment in diſcerning what is true: As if it were

were a praiſe to know what might be ſaid, and not what ſhould be thought. Some have certain Common Places, and Themes, wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of Poverty is for the moſt part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourableſt part of Talk, is to give the Occaſion, again, to moderate and paſs to ſomewhat elſe; for then a Man leads the Dance. It is good in *Diſcourſe* and Speech of Converſation, to vary and intermingle Speech of the preſent occaſion with Arguments, Tales with Reaſons, asking of Queſtions with telling of Opinions, and Jeſt with Earneſt: For it is a dull thing to Tire, and as we ſay now, to Jade any thing too far. As for Jeſt, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, Religion, Matters of State, Great Perſons, any Mans preſent Buſineſs of importance, and any Caſe that deſerveth pity. Yet there be ſome that think their Wits have been aſleep, except they dart out ſomewhat that is piquant, and to the quick: That is a vein which ſhould be bridled.

Parce, Puer, ſtimulis, & fortius utere loris.

And generally men ought to find the difference between Saltneſs and Bitterneſs. Certainly he that hath a Satyrical Vein, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, ſo he had need be afraid of others Memory. He that queſtioneth much, ſhall learn much, and content much; but eſpecially if he apply his Queſtions to the skill of the Perſons whom he asketh: For he ſhall give them occaſion to pleaſe themſelves in ſpeaking, and himſelf ſhall continually gather knowledge. But let his Queſtions not be troubleſome; for that is fit for a Poſer: And let him be ſure to leave other Men their turns to ſpeak. Nay, if there be any that would reign, and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as Muſicians uſe to do with thoſe that dance too long Galliards. If you diſſemble ſometimes your

your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you ſhall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a mans ſelf ought to be ſeldom, and well choſen. I knew one was wont to ſay in ſcorn, *He muſt needs be a Wiſe Man, he ſpeaks ſo much of himſelf:* And there is but one caſe, wherein a Man may commend himſelf with good Grace, and that is, in commending Vertue in another; eſpecially if it be ſuch a Vertue whereunto himſelf pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others ſhould be ſparingly uſed: For *Diſcourſe* ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen* of the weſt part of *England*, whereof the one was given to Scoff, but kept ever Royal Cheer in his Houſe: The other would ask of thoſe that had been at the others Table, *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry blow given?* To which the Gueſt would anſwer, *Such and ſuch a thing paſſed*: The Lord would ſay, *I thought he would mar a good Dinner. Diſcretion* of *Speech* is more than *Eloquence*; and to ſpeak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to ſpeak in good words, or in good order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, ſhews ſlowneſs; and a good Reply, or ſecond Speech without a good ſettled Speech, ſheweth Shallowneſs and Weakneſs; as we ſee in Beaſts, that thoſe that are weakeſt in the Courſe, are yet nimbleſt in the Turn; as it is betwixt the Greyhound and the Hare. To uſe too many Circumſtances e're one come to the Matter, is wearieſome; to uſe none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII.

XXXIII.

Of Plantations.

PLANTATIONS are amongſt Ancient, Primitive, and Heroical Works. When the World was young, it begat more Children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: for I may juſtly account new *Plantations* to be the Children of former Kingdoms. I like a *Plantation* in a pure Soyl, that is, where People are not *Diſplanted*, to the end, to *Plant* others; for elſe it is rather an Extirpation, than a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries is like *Planting* of Woods; for you muſt make account to loſe almoſt Twenty years Profit, and expect your Recompence in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the deſtruction of moſt *Plantations*, hath been the baſe and haſty drawing of profit in the firſt years. It is true, Speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may ſtand with the good of the *Plantation*, but no further. It is a ſhameful and unbleſſed thing, to take the Scum of People, and wicked condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant*: and not only ſo, but it ſpoileth the *Plantation*; for they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do miſchief, and ſpend Victuals, and be quickly weary; and then certifie over to their Country to the diſcredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you Plant, ought to be Gardners, Plough-men, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joyners, Fiſhermen, Fowlers, with ſome few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Countrey of *Plantation*, firſt look about what kind of Victual the Country yields of it ſelf to Hand; as Cheſnuts, Walnuts, Pine-Apples, Olives, Dates, Plumbs, Cherries, Wild-Honey, and the like, and make uſe of them. Then conſider what Victual, or Eſculent things there are, which grow ſpeedily, and within the year; as Parſnips, Carrots,

Carrots, Turnips, Onions, Raddiſh, Artichoaks of *Jeruſalem*, *Maiz*, and the like. For Wheat, Barly, and Oats, they ask too much labour: But with Peaſe and Beans you may begin, both becauſe they ask leſs labour, and becauſe they ſerve for Meat as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewiſe cometh a great encreaſe, and it is a kind of Meat. Above all, there ought to be brought ſtore of Bisket, Oat-meal Flour, Meal, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beaſts and Birds, take chiefly ſuch as are leaſt ſubject to Diſeaſes, and multiply faſteſt; as Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geeſe, Houſe Doves, and the like. The Victual in *Plantations* ought to be expended, almoſt as in a beſieged Town; that is, with a certain Allowance; and let the main part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn, be to a common ſtock, and to be laid in, and ſtored up, and then delivered out in Proportion, beſides ſome Spots of ground that any particular Perſon will manure for his own private uſe. Conſider likewiſe what Commodities the Soyl, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yield, that they may ſome way help to defray the charge of the *Plantation*: So it be not, as was ſaid, to the untimely Prejudice of the main buſineſs; as it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ore, and ſtreams whereupon to ſet the Mills, Iron is a brave commodity where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing Silk likewiſe if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and Tar, where ſtore of Firs and Pines are, will not fail. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap Aſhes likewiſe, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under Ground; for the hope of Mines is very uncertain, and uſeth to make the *Planters* lazy in other things. For Government, let it be in the hands of one aſſiſted with ſome Counſel;

and

and let them have commiſſion to exerciſe Martial Laws with ſome limitation. And above all, Let Men make that Profit of being in the Wilderneſs, as they have God always, and his ſervice before their eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation* depend upon too many Counſellors and undertakers in the Country that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate number; and let thoſe be rather Noblemen and Gentlemen, than Merchants; for they look ever to the preſent Gain. Let there be Freedoms for Cuſtom, till the *Plantation* be of Strength; and not only Freedom from Cuſtom, but Freedom to carry their Commodities, where they may make the beſt of them, except there be ſome ſpecial cauſe of Caution. Cram not in People, by ſending too faſt, Company after Company, but rather hearken how they waſte, and ſend ſupplies proportionably; but ſo, as the number may live well in the *Plantation*, and not by ſurcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of ſome *Plantations*, that they have built along the Sea and Rivers in mariſh and unwholeſome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there to avoid carriage, and other like diſcommodities, yet build ſtill rather upwards from the Streams, than along. It concerneth likewiſe the health of the *Plantation*, that they have good ſtore of Salt with them, that they may uſe it in their Victuals, when it ſhall be neceſſary. If you *Plant* where Savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles, but uſe them juſtly and graciouſly, with ſufficient guard nevertheleſs; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their defence it is not amiſs. And ſend oft of them over to the Country that *Plant*, that they may ſee a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the *Plantation* grows to ſtrength, then it is time to *Plant* with Women as well as with Men, that the *Plantation* may ſpread into Generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the ſinfulleſt thing in the World to forſake or deſtitute a

Plantation

Plantation once in forwardneſs; for beſides the diſhonour, it is guiltineſs of Blood of many commiſerable Perſons.

XXXIV.

Of Riches.

I Cannot call *Riches* better than the baggage of Vertue. The *Roman* word is better, *Impedimenta*; for as the Baggage is to an Army, ſo is *Riches* to Vertue. It cannot be ſpared, nor left behind, but it hindreth the March: Yea, and the care of it ſometimes loſeth or diſturbeth the Victory. Of great *Riches* there is no real uſe, except it be in the Diſtribution, the reſt is but conceit: So ſaith *Solomon*, *Where much is there are many to conſume it; and what hath the owner, but the ſight of it with his eyes?* The perſonal Fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great *Riches*: There is a Cuſtody of them, or a power of Dole and Donative of them, or a Fame of them, but no ſolid uſe to the owner. Do you not ſee what feigned Prices are ſet upon little Stones and Rarities? And what works of Oſtentation are undertaken, becauſe there might ſeem to be ſome uſe of great *Riches*? But then you will ſay, they may be of uſe to buy men out of dangers or troubles: as *Solomon* ſaith, *Riches are a ſtrong Hold in the Imagination of the Rich Man.* But this is excellently expreſſed, That it is in *Imagination*, and not always in *Fact*: For certainly great *Riches* have ſold more Men than they have bought out. Seek not proud *Riches*, but ſuch as thou mayeſt get juſtly, uſe ſoberly, diſtribute chearfully, and leave contentedly: Yet have no Abſtract nor Frierly contempt of them, but diſtinguiſh, as *Cicero* ſaith well of *Rabirius Poſthumus*; *In ſtudio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non Avaritiæ prædam, ſed inſtrumentum Bonitatis, quæri.* Hearken

ken alſo to *Solomon*, and beware of haſty gathering of *Riches*: *Qui feſtinat ad Divitias, non erit inſons.* The Poets feign, that when *Plutus* (which is *Riches*) is ſent from *Jupiter*, he limps and goes ſlowly; but when he is ſent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is ſwift of foot; meaning, that *Riches* gotten by good means, and juſt labour, pace ſlowly: But when they come by the death of others, (as by the courſe of inheritance, Teſtaments, and the like) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it might be applied likewiſe to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devil; for when *Riches* come from the Devil (as by Fraud, and Oppreſſion, and unjuſt means) they come upon Speed. The *Ways to inrich* are many, and moſt of them foul; *Parſimony* is one of the beſt, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth Men from works of Liberality and Charity. The *Improvement of the ground* is the moſt natural obtaining of *Riches*; for it is our Great Mothers Bleſſing, the Earths, but it is ſlow; and yet where the Men of great wealth do ſtoop to Husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman of *England*, that had the greateſt Audits of any Man in my time: A great Graſier, a great Sheep-Maſter, a great Timber-Man, a great Collier, a great Corn-Maſter, a great Lead-Man, and ſo of Iron, and a number of the like points of Husbandry; ſo as the Earth ſeemed a Sea to him in reſpect of the perpetual Importation. It was truly obſerved by One, that himſelf came very hardly to a little *Riches*, and very eaſily to great *Riches*; for when a Mans ſtock is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome thoſe bargains, which for their greatneſs are few Mens money, and be Partner in the induſtries of Younger Men, he cannot but encreaſe mainly. The *Gains* of *ordinary Trades* and *Vocations* are honeſt, and furthered by two things, chiefly, by Diligence, and by a good Name for good and fair dealing. But the *Grains* of *Bargains* are of a more doubtful Nature, when Men ſhall wait upon others Neceſſity, broke by Servants and Inſtruments

ments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like practiſes which are crafty and naught. As for the *Chopping of Bargains*, when a Man buys, not to hold, but to ſell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the Seller and upon the Buyer. *Sharings* do greatly *inrich*, if the Hands be well choſen that are truſted. *Uſury* is the certaineſt means of Gain, though one of the worſt; as that whereby a Man doth eat his Bread, *In ſudore vultus alieni*: And beſides, doth plow upon Sundays. But yet, certain though it be, it hath Flaws; for that the Scriveners and Brokers do value unſound Men to ſerve their own turn. The *Fortune*, in being the firſt in an *Invention*, or in a *Privilege*, doth cauſe ſometimes a wonderful overgrowth in *Riches*; as it was with the firſt Sugar-Man in the *Canaries*: therefore if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Judgment as Invention, he may do great matters, eſpecially if the Times be fit. He that reſteth upon *Gains Certain*, ſhall hardly grow to great *Riches*; and he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth oftentimes break, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties* that may uphold loſſes. *Monopolies* and *Coemption* of Wares for *Reſale*, where they are not reſtrained, are great means to *enrich*, eſpecially if the Party have intelligence what things are like to come into requeſt, and to ſtore himſelf before-hand. Riches gotten by *Service*, though it be of the beſt Riſe, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, feeding Humours, and other ſervile Conditions, they may be placed amongſt the Worſt. As for fiſhing for *Teſtaments* and *Executorſhips*, (as *Tacitus* ſaith of *Seneca*, *Teſtamenta & Orbos tanquam Indagine capi*) it is yet worſe, by how much men ſubmit themſelves to meaner perſons, than in *Service*. Believe not much them that ſeem to deſpiſe *Riches*; for they deſpiſe them that deſpair of them, and none worſe when they come to them. Be not Penny-wiſe; *Riches* have Wings, and ſometimes they fly away of themſelves; ſometimes

they muſt be ſet flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches* either to their Kindred, or to the Publick; and moderate Portions proſper beſt in both. A great State left to an Heir, is as a Lure to all the Birds of prey, round about to ſeize on him, if he be not the better eſtabliſhed in Years and Judgment. Likewiſe glorious Gifts and Foundations are like *Sacrifices without Salt*, and but the *Painted Sepulchres of Alms*, which ſoon will putrefie and corrupt inwardly: Therefore meaſure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by meaſure; and defer not Charities till death: For certainly if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth ſo is rather liberal of another mans, than of his own.

XXXV.

Of Prophecies.

I MEAN not to ſpeak of *Divine Prophecies*, nor of Heathen Oracles, nor of Natural Predictions, but only of *Prophecies* that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Cauſes. Saith the *Pythoniſſa* to *Saul*, *To morrow thou and thy Son ſhall be with me.* *Homer* hath theſe Verſes,

At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris
Et nati natorum, & qui naſcentur ab illis.

A *Prophecy*, as it ſeems, of the *Roman* Empire. *Seneca*, the *Tragedian*, hath theſe Verſes.

——Venient Annis
Secula ſeris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Tiphyſque novos
Detegat orbes; nec ſic terris
Ultima Thule:

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A *Prophecy* of the *Diſcovery* of *America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* anointed him; and it came to paſs that he was Crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain waſhed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed he ſealed up his Wife's Belly; whereby he did expound is that his Wife ſhould be barren: But *Ariſtander* the South-Sayer told him his Wife was with Child, becauſe Men do not uſe to ſeal Veſſels that are empty. A Phantaſm that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, ſaid to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis.* *Tiberius* ſaid to *Galba*, *Tu quoque*, *Galba*, *deguſtabis Imperium.* In *Veſpaſian*'s time there went a *Prophecy* in the Eaſt, that thoſe that ſhould come forth of *Judea* ſhould reign over the World: Which though it may be was meant of our *Saviour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Veſpaſian*. *Domitian* dreamed the night before he was ſlain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Neck: And indeed the ſucceſſion that followed him for many years made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixth of *England*, ſaid of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water, *This is the Lad that ſhall enjoy the Crown for which we ſtrive.* When I was in *France*, I heard from one Doctor *Pena*, that the *Queen Mother*, who was given to curious Arts, cauſed the King her Husband's Nativity to be Calculated under a falſe Name: And the Aſtrologer gave a Judgment, that he ſhould be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her Husband to be above Challenges and Duels: But he was ſlain upon a Courſe at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staff of *Mongomery* going in at his Bever. The trivial *Prophecy* that I heard when I was a Child, and Queen *Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Years, was;

When Hempe is ſpun,
England's *done.*

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the Princes had Reigned, which had the principal Letters of that Word *Hempe*, (which were *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*,) *England* ſhould come to utter Confuſion; which thanks be to God is verified in the Change of the Name; for that the King's Style is no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was alſo another *Prophecy*, before the Year of 88. which I do not well underſtand:

There ſhall be ſeen upon a day,
Between the Baugh *and the* May,
The Black Feet of Norway.
When that is come and gone,
England *build Houſes of Lime and Stone,*
For after Wars ſhall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the *Spaniſh* Fleet that came in 88. For that the King of *Spain*'s Sirname, as they ſay, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus*,

Octogeſſimus octavus mirabilis Annus,

Was thought likewiſe accompliſhed, in the ſending of that great Fleet, being the greateſt in ſtrength, though not in number, that ever ſwam upon the Sea. As for *Cleon*'s Dream, I think it was a Jeſt; It was, That he was devoured of a long Dragon; and it was expounded of a Maker of Sauſages that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind, eſpecially if you include *Dreams* and *Predictions* of *Aſtrology*. But I have ſet down theſe few only of certain credit for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be deſpiſed, and

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ought to ſerve but for winter-talk by the fire-ſide: Though, when I ſay *Deſpiſed*, I mean it as for belief; for otherwiſe, the ſpreading or publiſhing of them is in no ſort to be *Deſpiſed*; for they have done much miſchief. And I ſee many ſevere Laws made to ſuppreſs them. That that have given them grace, and ſome credit, conſiſteth in three things: Firſt, That Men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miſs; as they do generally alſo of *Dreams*. The ſecond is. That probable Conjectures, or obſcure Traditions, many times turn themſelves into *Prophecies*, while the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect: As that of *Seneca*'s Verſe. For ſo much was then ſubject to Demonſtration, that the Globe of the Earth had great Parts beyond the *Atlantick*; which might be probably conceived not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato*'s *Timæus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one to turn it to a *Prediction*. The third and Laſt (which is the Great one) is, That almoſt all of them, being infinite in number, have been Impoſtures, and by idle and crafty Brains meerly contrived and feigned after the Event paſt.

XXXVI.

Of Ambition.

AMBITION is like *Choler*, which is an Humour that maketh Men Active, Earneſt, full of Alacrity, and Stirring, if it be not ſtopped, but if it be ſtopped and cannot have its way, it becometh a duſt, and thereby Malign and Venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they find the way open for their Riſing, and ſtill get forward, they are rather Buſie than Dangerous; but if they be checkt in their deſires, they become ſecretly diſcontent,

and look upon Men and Matters with an Evil Eye, and are beſt pleaſed when things go backward, which is the worſt property in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for Princes, if they uſe *Ambitious Men*, to handle it ſo, as they be ſtill Progreſſive, and not Retrograde; which, becauſe it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to uſe ſuch Natures at all. For if they riſe not with their Service, they will take order to make their Service fall with them. But ſince we have ſaid, it were good not to uſe Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon neceſſity, it is fit we ſpeak in what caſes they are of neceſſity. Good Commanders in the Wars muſt be taken, be they never ſo *Ambitious*; for the uſe of their Service diſpenſeth with the reſt; and to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurs. There is alſo great uſe of *Ambitious Men*, in being Skreens to Princes in matters of danger and Envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a ſeeld Dove, that mounts and mounts, becauſe he cannot ſee about him. There is uſe alſo of *Ambitious Men*, in pulling down the greatneſs of any Subject that over-tops; as *Tiberius* uſed *Macro* in pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they muſt be uſed in ſuch caſes, there reſteth to ſpeak how they are to be bridled, that they may be leſs *Dangerous*. There is leſs *Danger* of them, if they be of mean Birth, than if they be Noble; and if they be rather harſh of Nature, than Gracious and Popular; and if they be rather new raiſed, than grown cunning, and fortified in their Greatneſs. It is counted by ſome a weakneſs in Princes to have *Favourites*; but it is of all others the beſt remedy againſt *Ambitious Great Ones*. For when the way of pleaſuring and diſpleaſuring lieth by the *Favourite*, it is impoſſible any other ſhould be *Over-great*. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there muſt be ſome middle Counſellors to keep things ſteady; for without that Ballaſt the Ship will roul too much. At the leaſt, a Prince may animate and inure ſome meaner Perſons,

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to be as it were Scourges to *Ambitious Men.* As for the having of them obnoxious to ruine, if they be of fearful Natures, it may do well; but if they be ſtout and daring, it may precipitate their Deſigns, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the Affairs require it, and that it may not be done with ſafety ſuddenly, the only way is, the enterchange continually of Favours and diſgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is leſs harmful the *Ambition* to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confuſion, and mars buſineſs. But yet it is leſs Danger, to have an *Ambitious Man* ſtirring in buſineſs, than great in dependences. He that ſeeketh to be eminent amongſt able Men, hath a great task; but that is ever good for the Publick; but he that plots to be the only Figure amongſt Cyphers, is the decay of an whole Age. *Honour* hath three things in it: The Vantage Ground to do good, the approach to Kings and Principal Perſons, and the raiſing of a Mans own Fortune. He that hath the beſt of theſe Intentions when he aſpireth, is an honeſt Man; and that Prince that can diſcern of theſe Intentions in another that aſpireth, is a wiſe Prince. Generally, let Princes and States chuſe ſuch Miniſters as are more ſenſible of Duty, than of Riſing; and ſuch as love Buſineſs rather upon Conſcience, than upon Bravery; and let them diſcern a buſie Nature from a willing Mind.

XXXVII.

Of Masks and Triumphs.

THESE Things are but Toys, to come amongſt ſuch ſerious Obſervations. But yet, ſince Princes will have ſuch things, it is better they ſhould be graced

with Elegancy, than daubed with Coſt. *Dancing to Song*, is a thing of great State and Pleaſure. I underſtand it, that the Song be in Choire, placed aloft, and accompanied with ſome broken Muſick, and the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, eſpecially in *Dialogues*, hath an extream good Grace: I ſay *Acting*, not *Dancing*, (for that is a mean and vulgar thing) and the *Voices* of the *Dialogue* would be ſtrong and manly, (a Baſe, and a Tenor, no Treble,) and the *Ditty* High and Tragical, not Nice or Dainty. *Several Choires* placed one over againſt another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Anthem*-wiſe, give great Pleaſure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure* is a childiſh curioſity; and generally let it be noted, that thoſe things which I here ſet down, are ſuch as do naturally take the Senſe, and not reſpect petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations* of *Scenes*, ſo it be quietly, and without noiſe, are things of great Beauty and Pleaſure, for they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the ſame Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, ſpecially *Coloured* and *Varied*; and let the *Maſkers*, or any other that are to come down from the *Scene*, have ſome motions upon the *Scene* it ſelf, before their coming down; for it draws the Eye ſtrangely, and makes it with great pleaſure to deſire to ſee that it cannot perfectly diſcern. Let the *Songs* be *Loud* and *Chearful*, and not *Chirpings* or *Pulings*. Let the *Muſick* likewiſe be *Sharp* and *Loud*, and *well placed*. The *Colours* that ſhew beſt by Candle-light, are White, Carnation, and a kind of Sea-water Green; and *Oes* or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Coſt, ſo they are of moſt Glory. As for *Rich Embroidery*, it is loſt, and not diſcerned. Let the *Suits* of *Maskers* be graceful, and ſuch as become the Perſon when the Vizars are off, not after examples of known Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-masks* not be long, they have been commonly of Fools, Satyrs, Baboons, Wild-men, Antiques, Beaſts, Spirits, Witches, Ethiops, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Ruſticks, Cupids, Statua's moving, and the like

like. As for *Angels*, it is not Comical enough to put them in *Anti-masks*; and any thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other ſide as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Muſick* of them be Recreative, and with ſome ſtrange Changes. Some *ſweet Odours* ſuddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are in ſuch a Company, as there is Steam and Heat, things of great pleaſure and refreſhment. *Double Masks*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety. But all is nothing, except the *Room* be kept clear and neat.

For *Juſts*, and *Turneys*, and *Barriers*, the Glories of them are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry, ſpecially if they be drawn with ſtrange Beaſts, as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like; or in the Devices of their Entrance, or in the bravery of their Liveries, or in the goodly Furniture of their Horſes and Armour. But enough of theſe toys.

XXXVIII.

Of Nature in Men.

NATURE is often Hidden, ſometimes Overcome, ſeldom Extinguiſhed. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Return; Doctrine and Diſcourſe maketh *Nature* leſs importune: But Cuſtom only doth alter and ſubdue *Nature*. He that ſeeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not ſet himſelf too great, nor too ſmall Tasks, for the firſt will make him dejected, by often Failings; and the ſecond will make him a ſmall Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the firſt, let him practiſe with Helps, as Swimmers do with Bladders or Ruſhes; but after a time let him practiſe with diſadvantages, as Dancers do with thick Shooes: For it breeds great Perfection, if the practice be harder than the Uſe. Where *Nature* is mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be, Firſt, to

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ſtay and arreſt *Nature* in time, like to him that would ſay over the Four and Twenty Letters when he was Angry, than to go leſs in quantity: As if one ſhould in forbearing Wine, come from drinking Healths to a Draught at a Meal, and laſtly to diſcontinue altogether: But if a Man have the Fortitude and Reſolution to enfranchiſe himſelf at once, that is the beſt;

Optimus ille animi vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque ſemel.

Neither is the Ancient Rule amiſs to bend *Nature*, as a wand to a contrary Extream, whereby to ſet it right, underſtanding it where the contrary Extream is no Vice. Let not a Man force a Habit upon himſelf with a perpetual Continuance, but with ſome Intermiſſion; for both the Pauſe re-inforceth the new Onſet: And if a Man that is not perfect be ever in practiſe, he ſhall as well practiſe his Errors, as his Abilities, and induce one Habit of both; and there is no means to help this, but by ſeaſonable Intermiſſion. But let not a Man truſt his Victory over his *Nature* too far; for *Nature* will lie buried a great time, and yet revive upon the Occaſion of Temptation. Like as it was with *Æſop*'s Damſel, turned from a Cat to a Woman, who ſate very demurely at the Boards end, till a Mouſe run before her. Therefore let a Man either avoid the Occaſion altogether, or put himſelf often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A Mans *Nature* is beſt perceived in privateneſs, for there is no Affection in Paſſion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; and in a new Caſe of Experiment, for their Cuſtom leaveth him. They are happy Men whoſe *Natures* ſort with their Vocations, otherwiſe they may ſay, *Multum Incola fuit Anima mea*; when they converſe in thoſe they do not effect. In Studies whatſoever a man commandeſt upon himſelf, let him ſet hours for it; but whatſoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no care for any ſet Times, for his

his thoughts will fly to it of themſelves; ſo as the ſpaces of other buſineſs or Studies will ſuffice. A mans *Nature* runs either to Herbs or Weeds; therefore let him ſeaſonably water the one, and deſtroy the other.

XXXIX.

Of Cuſtom and Education.

MENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination, their Diſcourſe and Speeches according to their Learning and infuſed Opinions; but their Deeds are after as they have been *accuſtomed*: And therefore as *Machiavel* well noteth, (though in an ill-favoured Inſtance) there is no truſting to the force of Nature nor to the bravery of Words, except it be corroborate by *Cuſtom*. His inſtance is, that for the atchieving of a deſperate Conſpiracy, a Man ſhould not reſt upon the fierceneſs of any Mans Nature, or his reſolute undertakings; but take ſuch an one as hath had his hands formerly in Blood. But *Machiavel* knew not of a *Frier Clement*, not a *Ravilliac*, nor a *Jauregy*, nor a *Baltazer Gerrard*; yet this Rule holdeth ſtill, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words are not ſo forcible as *Cuſtoms*. Only Superſtition is now ſo well advanced, that Men of the firſt blood are as firm as Butchers by Occupation, and Votary Reſolution is made Equipollent to *Cuſtom*, even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of *Cuſtom* is every where viſible, inſomuch as a man would wonder to hear men Profeſs, Proteſt, Engage, give great Words, and then do juſt as they have done before, as if they were dead Images, and Engines moved only by the wheels of *Cuſtom*. We ſee alſo the Reign or Tyranny of *Cuſtom*, what it is. The *Indians* (I mean the Sect of their Wiſe Men) lay themſelves quietly upon a ſtack of Wood, and ſo Sacrifice themſelves

ſelves by fire. Nay, the Wives ſtrive to be burned with the Corps of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta* of ancient time, were wont to be ſcourged upon the Altar of *Diana* without ſo much as Squeeking. I remember in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, of *England*, an *Iriſh Rebel* condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputy*, that he might be hanged in a Wyth, and not in an Halter, becauſe it had been ſo uſed with former *Rebels*. There be *Monks* in *Ruſſia*, for Pennance, that will ſit a whole night in a Veſſel of Water, till they be engaged with hard Ice. Many examples may be put down of the Force of *Cuſtom*, both upon mind and body. Therefore ſince *Cuſtom* is the Principal Magiſtrate of Man's life, let Men by all means endeavour to obtain good *Cuſtoms*. Certainly *Cuſtom* is moſt perfect when it beginneth in young years: This we call *Education*, which is in effect but an *early Cuſtom*. So we ſee in Languages, the Tongue is more pliant to all Expreſſions and Sounds, the Joynts are more ſupple to all Feats of Activity and motions in Youth than afterwards. For it is true, the late Learners cannot ſo well take the ply, except it be in ſome minds that have not ſuffered themſelves to fix, but have kept themſelves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the Force of *Cuſtom*, Simple and Separate, be great, the Force of *Cuſtom* Copulate, and Conjoyned, and Collegiate, is far greater. For their Example teacheth, Company comforteth, Emulation quickneth, Glory raiſeth: So as in ſuch Places the Force of *Cuſtom* is in his Exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of Virtues upon humane Nature, reſteth upon Societies well ordained and diſciplined: for Common-wealths and good Governments do nouriſh Virtue Grown, but do not much mend the Seeds. But the miſery is, that the moſt effectual Means are now applyed to the Ends leaſt to be deſired.

Of

XI.

Of Fortune.

IT cannot be denyed, but outward accidents conduce much to *Fortune*: Favour, Opportunity, Death of others, Occaſion fitting Virtue. But chiefly the mould of a *Man's Fortune* is in his own hands. *Faber quiſque Fortunæ ſuæ*, ſaith the Poet. And the moſt frequent of External Cauſes is, that the Folly of one man is the *Fortune* of another. For no man proſpers ſo ſuddenly, as by others errors. *Serpens niſi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Overt and Apparent Virtues bring forth Praiſe; but there be Secret and Hidden Virtues that bring forth *Fortune*. Certain Deliveries of a Man's ſelf, which have no Name. The *Spaniſh* Name, *Deſemboltura*, partly expreſſeth them, when there be not Stands nor Reſtiveneſs in a *Man's Nature*, but that the Wheels of his *Mind* keep way with the Wheels of his *Fortune*. For ſo *Livy* (after he had deſcribed *Cato Major*, in theſe words, *in illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis & Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus eſſet, Fortunam ſibi facturus videretur*) falleth upon that, that he had *Verſatile Ingenium*. Therefore if a man look ſharply and attentively, he ſhall ſee *Fortune*: For though ſhe be blind, yet ſhe is not inviſible. The way of *Fortune* is like the *Milkie Way* in the Skie, which is a Meeting or Knot of a number of ſmall Stars; not ſeen aſunder, but giving Light together: So are there a number of little, and ſcarce diſcerned Virtues, or rather Faculties and Cuſtoms that make men *Fortunate*. The *Italian* note ſome of them, ſuch as a Man would little think: When they ſpeak of one that cannot do amiſs, they will through in into his other Conditions that he hath, *Poco di Matto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* properties, than to have a *little* of the *Fool*, and not *too much* of the *Honeſt*. Therefore extream Lovers of their Country, or Maſters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a man placeth

placeth his thoughts without himſelf, he goeth not his own way, and haſty *Fortune* maketh an Enterpriſer and Remover; (the *French* hath it better. *Enterprenant* or *Remuant*) but the exerciſed *Fortune* maketh the able Man. *Fortune* is to be Honoured and Reſpected, if it be but for her Daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation*: For thoſe two *Felicity* breedeth; the firſt, within a Man's ſelf, the latter in others towards him. All wiſe men to decline the Envy of their own Virtues, uſe to aſcribe them to Providence and *Fortune*; for ſo they may the better aſſure them: And beſides, it is Greatneſs in a Man to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So *Cæſar* ſaid to the Pilot in the Tempeſt, *Cæſarem portas, & Fortunam ejus.* So *Sylla* choſe the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus.* And it hath been noted, that thoſe that aſcribe openly too much to their own Wiſdom and Policy, end *Unfortunate.* It is written, That *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the account he gave to the State of his Government, often interlaced his Speech, *And in this Fortune had no part*, never proſpered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whoſe *Fortunes* are like *Homer's Verſes*, that have a Slide and Eaſineſs more than the Verſes of other Poets, as *Plutarch* ſaith of *Timoleon's Fortune*, in reſpect of that of *Ageſilaus*, or *Epaminondas*: And that this ſhould be, no doubt it is much in a Man's ſelf.

XLI.

Of Uſury.

MANY have made witty Invectives againſt *Uſury.* They ſay, That it is pity the Devil ſhould have God's part, which is the *Tithe.* That the *Uſury* is the greateſt Sabbath-breaker, becauſe his Plough goeth every *Sunday.* That the *Uſurer* is the *Drone* that *Virgil* ſpeaketh of: *Ignavum*

Ignavum fucus pecus à præſepibus arcent.

That the *Uſurer* breaketh the firſt Law that was made for Mankind after the Fall; which was, *In ſudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*, not, *In ſudore vultus alieni.* That *Uſurers* ſhould have *Orainge-tawny Bonnets*, becauſe they do *Judaize.* That it is againſt Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money*, and the like. I ſay this only, that *Uſury* is a *Conceſſum propter duritiem cordis:* For ſince there muſt be Borrowing and Lending, and Men are ſo hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Uſury muſt* be permitted. Some others have made Suſpicious and Cunning Propoſitions of Banks, diſcovery of Men's Eſtates, and other Inventions, but few have ſpoken of *Uſury* uſefully. It is good to ſet before us the *Incommodities* and *Commodities* of *Uſury*, that the good may be either Weighed out, or Culled out; and wearily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worſe.

The *Diſcommodities* of *Uſury* are, Firſt, That it makes fewer Merchants: for were it not for this lazy Trade of *Uſury*, Money would not lie ſtill, but would in great part be employed upon Merchandiſing, which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The ſecond, That it makes poor Merchants; for as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground ſo well, if he ſit at a great Rent: So the Merchant cannot drive his Trade ſo well, if he ſit at great *Uſury*. The third is incident to the other two; and that is, The decay of Cuſtoms, of Kings, or States, which Ebb or Flow with Merchandizing. The fourth, That it bringeth the Treaſure of a Realm or State into a few hands; for the *Uſurer* being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game moſt of the Money will be in the Box; and ever a State flouriſheth, when Wealth is more equally ſpread. The fifth, That it beats down the price of Land; for the employment of Money is chiefly either Merchandizing or Purchaſing

chaſing and *Uſury* way-lays both. The Sixth, That it doth dull and damp all Induſtries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be ſtirring, if it were not for this Slug. The laſt, That it is the Canker and Ruine of many Men's Eſtates, which in proceſs of time breeds a publick Poverty.

On the other ſide, the *Commodities* of *Uſury* are: Firſt, That howſoever *Uſury* in ſome reſpect hindreth Merchandizing, yet in ſome other it advanceth it; for it is certain, that the greateſt part of Trade is driven by young Merchants, upon borrowing at Intereſt: So as if the *Uſurer* either call in, or keep back his Money, there will enſue preſently a great ſtand of Trade. The ſecond is, That were it not for this eaſie borrowing upon *Intereſt*, Mens neceſſities would draw upon them a moſt ſudden undoing, in that they would be forced to ſell their Means (be it Lands or Goods) far under foot; and ſo whereas *Uſury* doth but gnaw upon them, bad Markets would ſwallow them quite up. As for Mortaging or Pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either men will not take Pawns without *Uſe*, or if they do, they will look preciſely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel Monied Man in the Country, that would ſay, The Devil take this *Uſury*, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages and Bonds. The third and laſt is, That it is a vanity to conceive, that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impoſſible to conceive, the number of inconveniences that will enſue, if borrowing be cramped: Therefore to ſpeak of the aboliſhing of *Uſury* is idle. All States have ever had it in one kind, or rate or other: ſo as that opinion muſt be ſent to *Utopia*.

To ſpeak now of the *Reformation* and *Reiglement* of *Uſury* how the *Diſcommodities* of it may be beſt avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appears by the Ballance of *Commodities* and *Diſcommodities* of *Uſury*, two things are to be reconciled: The one, that the *Tooth* of *Uſury* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there

there be left open a means to invite Monied Men to lend to the Merchants, for the Continuing and Quickning of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two ſeveral ſorts of *Uſury*, a *leſs* and a *greater*. For if you reduce *Uſury* to one low rate, it will eaſe the *Common Borrower*, but the *Merchant* will be to ſeek for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the moſt *Lucrative*, may bear *Uſury* at a good rate; other Contracts not ſo.

To ſerve both Intentions the way would be chiefly thus: That there be *two Rates of Uſury*, the one Free and General for all, the other under *Licence* only to *certain Perſons*, and in *certain Places of Merchandizing*. Firſt therefore, let *Uſury in general be reduced to Five in the Hundred*, and let that Rate be proclaimed to be Free and Currant; and let the Sate ſhut it ſelf out to take any penalty for the ſame. This will preſerve Borrowing from any general Stop or Dryneſs. This will eaſe infinite Borrowers in the Country. This will in good part raiſe the price of Land, becauſe Land purchaſed at Sixteen years purchaſe, will yield Six in the Hundred, and ſomewhat more, whereas this Rate of Intereſt yields but Five. This by reaſon will encourage and edge Induſtrious and Profitable Improvements, becauſe many will rather venture in that kind, than take Five in the Hundred, eſpecially having been uſed to greater profit. Secondly, Let there be *certain Perſons Licenſed to lend to known Merchants*, upon *Uſury*, at a *High-Rate*; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himſelf, ſomewhat more eaſie than that he uſed formerly to pay: for by that means all Borrowers ſhall have ſome eaſe by this Reformation, be he Merchant or whoſoever. Let it be no Bank or Common Stock, but every man be Maſter of his own Money. Not that I altogether miſlike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain ſuſpicions. Let the State be anſwered ſome ſmall matter for the Licenſe, and the reſt left to the Lender; for if the abatement be

but ſmall, it will no whit diſcourage the Lender. For he, for example, that took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will ſooner deſcend to Eight in the Hundred, than give over his Trade of *Uſury*, and go from Certain Gains to Gains of Hazard. Let theſe Licenſed Lenders be in number indefinite, but reſtrained to certain principal Cities and Towns of Merchandizing, for then they will be hardly able to colour other mens moneys in the Country, ſo as the *Licence of Nine* will not ſuck away the current *Rate of Five*; for no man will Lend his Moneys far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected, That this doth in a ſort Authorize *Uſury*, which before was in ſome places but permiſſive: The Anſwer is, that it is better to mitigate *Uſury* by *Declaration*, than to ſuffer it to rage by *Connivence*.

XLII.

Of Youth and Age.

A Man that is *Young* in *Years*, may be Old in Hours, if he have loſt no time, but that happeneth rarely. Generally *Youth* is like the firſt Cogitations, not ſo wiſe as the ſecond; for there is a *Youth* in Thoughts as well as in Ages: And yet the Invention of *Young Men* is more lively than that of Old, and Imaginations ſtream into their minds better, and, as it were, more Divinely. Natures that have much heat, and great and violent deſires and perturbations, are not ripe for Action till they have paſſed the Meridian of their years; as it was with *Julius Cæſar*, and *Septimius Severus*, of the latter of whom it is ſaid, *Juventutem egit Erroribus, imo Furoribus plenam*; and yet he was the ableſt Emperor almoſt of all the Liſt. But repoſed Natures may do well in *Youth*, as it is ſeen in *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Coſmus* Duke of *Florence*, *Gaſton de Foix*, and others. On the other ſide, Heat and Vivacity in *Age*, is an excellent Compoſition

poſition for buſineſs. *Young Men* are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for Execution than for Counſel, and fitter for new projects than for ſettled buſineſs, for the Experience of *Age* in things that fall within the compaſs of it directeth them, but in new things abuſeth them. The Errors of *Young Men* are the ruin of Buſineſs; but the Errors of *Aged Men* amount but to this, that more might have been done or ſooner. *Young Men* in the conduct and manage of Actions embrace more than they can hold, ſtir more than they can quiet fly to the end without conſideration of the means and degrees, purſue ſome few Principles which they have chanced upon abſurdly, care not to innovate, which draws unknown Inconveniencies: Uſe extream Remedies at firſt, and that which doubleth all Errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unready Horſe, that will neither Stop nor Turn. *Men* of *Age* object too much, conſult too long, adventure too little, repent too ſoon, and ſeldom drive buſineſs home to the full period, but content themſelves with a mediocrity of Succeſs. Certainly it is good to compound *Employments* of both; for that will be good for the *preſent*, becauſe the vertues of either *Age* may correct the defects of both, and good for Succeſſion, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men* in *Age* are Actors. And laſtly, good for *Extern Accidents*, becauſe Authority followeth *Old Men*, and Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the moral part, perhaps *Youth* will have the preheminence, as *Age* hath for the politick. A certain *Rabbins* upon the Text, *Your young Men ſhall ſee viſions, and your old Men ſhall dream dreams*, inferreth, that *Young Men* are admitted nearer to God than *Old*, becauſe *Viſion* is a clearer Revelation than a *Dream*. And certainly the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; and *Age* doth profit rather in the powers of Underſtanding, than in the Vertues of the Will and Affections. There be ſome have an over-early Ripeneſs in their years, which fadeth betimes: Theſe are firſt ſuch as have brittle Wits, the edge whereof is

ſoon turned; ſuch as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whoſe Books are exceeding ſubtil, who afterwards waxed ſtupid. A ſecond ſort is of thoſe that have ſome natural Diſpoſitions which have better grace in *Youth* than in *Age*; ſuch as is a fluent and luxuriant Speech, which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age*: So *Tully* ſaith of *Hortenſius*, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat.* The The third is, of ſuch as take too high a ſtrain at the firſt, and are magnanimous more than Tract of years can uphold: As was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* ſaith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant.*

XLIII.

Of Beauty.

VERTUE is like a rich Stone, beſt plain ſet; and ſurely, Vertue is beſt in a Body that is comely, though not of delicate Features, and that hath rather Dignity of Preſence, than *Beauty* of Aſpect. Neither is it almoſt ſeen that very *Beautiful Perſons* are otherwiſe of great Vertue, as if Nature were rather buſie not to err, than in labour to produce Excellency; and therefore they prove accompliſhed, but not out of great Spirit, and ſtudy rather Behaviour than Vertue. But this holds not always, for *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Titus Veſpaſianus*, *Philip de Belle* of *France*, *Edward* the fourth of *England*, *Alcibiades* of *Athens*, *Iſmael* the *Sophy* of *Perſia*, were all high and great Spirits, and yet the moſt *Beautiful Men* of their times. In *Beauty*, that of *Favour* is more than that of *Colour*; and that of *decent* and *gracious Motion*, more than that of *Favour*. That is the beſt part of *Beauty* which a Picture cannot expreſs, no nor the firſt ſight of the Life. There is no excellent *Beauty* that hath not ſome ſtrangeneſs in the proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles* or *Albert Durer* were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a Perſonage by Geometrical

Geometrical Proportions, the other by taking the beſt Parts out of divers Faces to make one excellent. Such Perſonages I think would pleaſe no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I think a Painter may make a better Face than ever was, but he muſt do it by a kind of *Felicity*, (as a Muſician that maketh an excellent Air in Muſick) and not by Rule. A Man ſhall ſee Faces, that if you examine them part by part, you ſhall find never a good, and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal part of *Beauty* is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel, though *Perſons* in *Years* ſeem many times more amiable, *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*; for no *Youth* can be comely, but by pardon, and conſidering the *Youth*, as to make up the comelineſs. *Beauty* is as Summer-Fruits, which are eaſie to corrupt, and cannot laſt, and for the moſt part it makes a diſſolute *Youth*, and an *Age*, a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh Vertues ſhine, and Vices bluſh.

XLIV.

Of Deformity.

DEFORMED *Perſons* are commonly even with Nature; for as Nature hath done ill by them, ſo do they by Nature, being for the moſt part (as the Scripture ſaith) *void of Natural Affection*, and ſo they have Revenge of Nature. Certainly, there is a conſent between the body and the mind, and where Nature erreth in the one, ſhe ventureth in the other; *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But becauſe there is in Man an Election touching the Frame of his mind, and a Neceſſity in the Frame of his body, the Stars of natural Inclination are ſometimes obſcured by the Sun of Diſcipline and Vertue: Therefore it is good to conſider of

Deformity, not as a Sign which is more deceivable, but as a Cauſe which ſeldom faileth of the Effect. Whoſoever hath any thing fixed in his Perſon that doth induce Contempt, hath alſo a perpetual Spur in himſelf to reſcue and deliver himſelf from Scorn. Therefore all *Deformed Perſons* are extream bold. Firſt, as in their own Defence, as being expoſed to Scorn, but in proceſs of time, by a general Habit. Alſo it ſtirreth in them induſtry, and eſpecially of this kind, to watch and obſerve the weakneſs of others, that they may have ſomewhat to repay. Again, in their Superiors, it quencheth Jealouſie towards them, as Perſons that they think they may at pleaſure deſpiſe; and it layeth their Competitors and Emulators aſleep, as never believing they ſhould be in poſſibility of Advancement, till they ſee them in Poſſeſſion; ſo that upon the matter in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an advantage to Riſing. Kings in ancient times (and at this preſent in ſome Countries) were wont to put great Truſt in *Eunuchs*; becauſe they that are envious to all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their Truſt towards them hath rather been as to good Spials, and good whiſperers, than good Magiſtrates and Officers. And much like is the Reaſon of *Deformed Perſons*. Still the ground is, they will if they be of Spirit, ſeek to free themſelves from Scorn, which muſt be either by Vertue or Malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if ſometimes they prove excellent Perſons; as was *Ageſilaus*, *Zanger* the Son of *Solyman*, *Æſop*, *Gaſca* Preſident of *Peru*, and *Socrates* may go likewiſe amongſt them, with others.

XLV.

XLV.

Of Building.

HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on: Therefore let Uſe be preferred before Uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly Fabricks of *Houſes*, for Beauty only, to the *Enchanted Palaces* of the *Poets*, who build them with ſmall coſt. He that builds a fair *Houſe* upon an *ill Seat*, committeth himſelf to Priſon. Neither do I reckon it an *ill Seat* only where the Air is unwholeſome, but likewiſe where the Air is unequal; as you ſhall ſee many fine *Seats* ſet upon a knap of Ground, environed with higher Hills round about it, whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughs; ſo as you ſhall have, and that ſuddenly, as great Diverſity of Heat and Cold, as if you dwelt in ſeveral Places. Neither is it *ill Air* only that maketh an *ill Seat*, but ill ways, ill Markets; and if you will conſult with *Momus*, ill Neighbours. I ſpeak not of any more: Want of Water, want of Wood, Shade and Shelter, want of Fruitfulneſs, and mixture of Grounds of ſeveral Natures, want of Proſpect, want of level Grounds, want of Places at ſome near Diſtance for Sports of Hunting, Hawking, and Races; Too near the Sea, too remote, having the Commodity of Navigable Rivers, or the Diſcommodity of their Overflowing: Too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Buſineſs, or too near them which lurcheth all Proviſions, and maketh every thing dear: Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is ſcanted. All which, as it is impoſſible perhaps to find together, ſo it is good to know them, and think of them, that a Man may take as many as he can; And if have ſeveral Dwellings, that he ſort them ſo, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. *Lu-*

cullus anſwer *Pompey* well, who when he ſaw his Stately Galleries and Rooms ſo large and lightſome in one of his *Houſes*, ſaid, *Surely an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you in Winter? Lucullus* anſwered, *Why do you not think me as wiſe as ſome Fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the Winter?*

To paſs from the *Seat* to the *Houſe* it ſelf, we will do as *Cicero* doth in the Orator's Art, who writes Books *De Oratore*, and a Book he Entitles *Orator*; whereof the former delivers the Precepts of the *Art*, and the latter the *Perfection*. We will therefore deſcribe a *Princely Palace*, making a brief model thereof. For it is ſtrange to ſee now in *Europe* ſuch huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Eſcurial*, and ſome others be, and yet ſcarce a very fair Room in them.

Firſt therefore, I ſay, you cannot have a perfect *Palace*, except you have two ſeveral Sides; a Side for the *Banquet*, as is ſpoken of in the Book of *Heſter*, and a Side for the *Houſhold*; the one for Feaſts and Triumphs, and the other for Dwelling. I underſtand both theſe Sides to be not only Returns, but Parts of the *Front*, and to be uniform without, though ſeverally Partitioned within, and to be on both ſides of a great and *Stately Tower* in the midſt of the *Front*, that as it were joyneth them together on either hand. I would have on the ſide of the *Banquet* in Front one only *goodly Room* above Stairs, of ſome forty foot high, and under it a Room for a *Dreſſing* or *Preparing Place* at times of Triumphs. On the other ſide, which is the *Houſhold* ſide, I wiſh it divided at the firſt into a *Hall* and a *Chappel*, (with a Partition between) both of good ſtate and bigneſs, and thoſe not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a *Winter* and a *Summer Parlor*, both fair; and under theſe Rooms, a fair and large *Cellar* ſunk under Ground; and likewiſe ſome *Privy Kitchens*, with *Buteries* and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it two Stories, of eighteen foot high apiece aboye the two Wings, and goodly *Leads* upon the Top,

railed

railed with *Statua's* interpoſed, and the ſame *Tower* to be divided into Rooms as ſhall be thought fit; the Stairs likewiſe to the upper Rooms, let them be upon a fair open *Newel*, and finely railed in with *Images* of *Wood*, caſt into a Braſs colour, and a very fair Landing *Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower Rooms for a Dining Place of Servants, for otherwiſe you ſhall have the Servants Dinner after your own; for the ſteam of it will come up as in a Tunnel. And ſo much for the *Front*, only I underſtand the Heighth of the firſt Stairs to be ſixteen Foot which is the Heighth of the lower Room.

Beyond this *Front* is there to be a fair *Court*, but three ſides of it of a far lower *Building* than the *Front*. And in all the four Corners of that Court fair Stair-Caſes, caſt into *Turrets* on the out ſide, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themſelves. But thoſe *Towers* are not to be of the height of the *Front*, but rather proportionable to the lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be Paved, for that ſtriketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter; but only ſome Side-Alleys, with a Croſs, and the *Quarters* to Graze being kept Shorn, but not too near Shorn. The *Row* of *Return* on the *Banquet Side*, let it be all *Stately Galleries*, in which *Galleries* let there be three or five fine *Cupola's* in the length of it, placed at equal diſtance, and fine *Coloured Windows* of ſeveral Works. On the Houſhold ſide, *Chambers* of *Preſence* and ordinary Entertainment, with ſome *Bed-Chambers*, and let all three Sides be a double Houſe, without thorow Lights on the Sides, that you may have Rooms from the Sun, both for Fore-noon and After-noon. Caſt it alſo, that you may have Rooms both for Summer and Winter, Shady for Summer, and Warm for Winter. You ſhall have ſometimes fair *Houſes* ſo full of Glaſs, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the Sun, or Cold, for *Inbowed Windows* I hold them of good uſe; (in Cities indeed *Upright* do better, in reſpect of the Uniformity towards the Street) for they be pretty Retiring Places

for

for Conference; and beſides, they keep both the Wind and the Sun off: For that which would ſtrike almoſt through the Room, doth ſcarce paſs the *Window*. But let them be but few, four in the *Court* on the Sides only.

Beyond this *Court* let there be an *Inward Court* of the ſame Square and Heighth, which is to be environed with the *Garden* on all ſides; and in the inſide Cloiſtered upon all ſides; upon decent and beautiful Arches, as high as the firſt Story. On the *Under Story* towards the *Garden*, let it be turned to a *Grotta*, or place of Shade or Eſtivation; and only have opening and *Windows* towards the *Garden*, and be level upon Floor, no whit ſunk under Ground, to avoid all dampiſhneſs: And let there be a *Fountain*, or ſome fair *Work of Statua's* in the midſt of this *Court*, and to be Paved as the other *Court* was. Theſe *Buildings* to be for *Privy Lodgings* on both Sides, and the end for *Privy Galleries*: whereof you muſt fore-ſee that one of them be for an *Infirmary*, if the Prince or any ſpecial perſon ſhould be Sick, with *Chambers*, *Bed-Chambers*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, joyning to it: This upon the ſecond Story. Upon the *Ground Story* a fair *Gallery*, *open* upon *Pillars*; and upon the *third Story* likewiſe, an *open Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Proſpect and Freſhneſs of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the furtheſt Side, by way of Return, let there be two delicate or Rich *Cabinets*, daintily Paved, Richly Hanged, Glazed with *Cryſtalline Glaſs*, and a Rich *Cupola* in the midſt, and all other Elegancy that may be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too I wiſh that there may be, if the Place will yield it, ſome *Fountains* running in divers Places from the Wall, with ſome fine Avoidances. And thus much for the model of the Palace; ſave that you muſt have, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts: and a *Green Court Plain*, with a Wall about it; a *Second Court* of the ſame, but more Garniſhed with little Turrets, or rather Embelliſhments upon the Wall; and a *third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be Built, nor yet Encloſed with

with a Naked Wall, but Encloſed with *Taraſſes* leaded aloft, and fairly Garniſhed on the three ſides; and Cloyſtered on the in-ſide with Pillars, and not with Arches below. As for *Offices*, let them ſtand at diſtance with ſome *Low-Galleries*, to paſs from them to the *Palace* it ſelf.

XLVI.

Of Gardens.

GOD *Almighty* firſt Planted a *Garden*; and indeed it is the pureſt of Humane pleaſures. It is the greateſt refreſhment to the Spirits of Man; without which, *Buildings* and *Palaces* are but groſs Handy-works. And a Man ſhall ever ſee, that when Ages grow to Civility and Elegancy, Men come to *Build Stately*, ſooner than to *Garden Finely*: as if *Gardening* were the greater Perfection. I do hold it in the Royal Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be *Gardens* for all the Months in the Year, in which, ſeverally, things of Beauty may be then in ſeaſon. For *December* and *January*, and the latter part of *November*, you muſt take ſuch things as are green all Winter; Holly, Ivy, Bays, Juniper, Cypreſs Trees, Yews, Pine-Apple Trees, Fir Trees, Roſemary, Lavender, Perriwinckle the White, the Purple, and the Blew, Germander, Flags, Orange-Trees, Limon-Trees, and Myrtle, if they be ſtoved, and ſweet Marjoram warm ſets. There followeth for the latter part of *January* and *February*, the Mezerion Tree, which then bloſſoms, Crocus Vernus, both the Yellow and the Grey prim-Roſes, Anemones, the Early Tulippa, Hyacinthus Orientalis, Chamairis, Frettellaria. For *March* there comes Violets, ſpecially the Single Blew, which are Earlieſt, the Yellow Daffadil, the Daizy, the Almond-Tree in Bloſſom, the Peach-Tree in Bloſſom, the Cornelian-Tree in Bloſſom, ſweet Briar. In *April* follow the double White Violet, the Wall-Flower, the Stock Gilly-Flower, the

the Cowſlip, Flower-de-Lices, and Lilies of all Natures, Roſemary-Flower, the Tulippa, the Double Piony, the Pale Daffadill, the French Honey-Suckle, the Cherry-Tree in Bloſſom, the Damaſcen and Plumb-Trees in Bloſſom, the White Thorn in Leaf, the Lelack-Tree. In *May* and *June* come Pinks of all Sorts, ſpecially the Bluſh-Pink, Roſes of all kinds, except the Muſk, which comes later, Hony Suckles, Strawberries, Bugloſs, Columbine, the French Marygold, Flos Africanus, Cherry-Tree in Fruit, Ribes, Figs in Fruit, Raſps, Vine-Flowers, Lavender in Flowers, the Sweet Satyrian with the White Flower, Herba Muſcaria, Lilium Convallium, the Apple-Tree in Boſſom. In *July* come Gilly-flowers of all Varieties, Muſk-Roſes, and the Lime-Tree in Bloſſom. Early Pears and Plumbs in Fruit, Gennitings, Quodlings. In *Auguſt* come Plumbs of all ſorts in Fruit, Pears, Apricocks, Barberries, Filbeards, Muſk-Melons, Monkshoods of all Colours. In *September* comes, Grapes, Apples, Poppies of all Colours, Peaches, Melo-Cotones, Nectarines, Cornelians, Wardens, Quinces. In *October* and the beginning of *November*, come Serviſes, Medlars, Bulliſes; Roſes Cut or Removed to come late, Holly-oaks, and ſuch like. Theſe particulars are for the *Climate* of *London*: But my meaning is perceived, that you may have *Ver Perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And becauſe the *Breath* of Flowers is far Sweeter in the Air, (where it comes and goes, like the Warbling of Muſick) than in the Hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that Delight, than to know what be the *Flowers* and *Plants* that do beſt perfume the Air. Roſes Damask and Red are Flowers tenacious of their Smells, ſo that you may walk by a whole Row of them, and find nothing of their Sweetneſs; yea, though it be in a Morning Dew. Bays likewiſe yield no Smell as they grow, Roſemary little, nor Sweet-Marjoram. That which above all others yields the *Sweeteſt Smell* in the *Air*, is the Violet, ſpecially the White double Violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of *April*, and about

about *Bartholomew-tide.* Next to that is the Musk Roſe, then the Strawberry Leaves dying with a moſt excellent Cordial Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines, it is a little Duſt, like the Duſt of a Bent, which grows upon the Cluſter in the firſt coming forth. Then Sweet-Briar, then Wall-Flowers, which are very delightful to be ſet under a Parlour, or lower Chamber Window. Then Pinks and Gilly-Flowers. eſpecially the matted Pink, and Clove Gilly-Flower. Then the Flowers of the Lime-Tree. Then the Hony-Suckles, ſo they be ſomewhat afar off. Of Bean-Flowers I ſpeak not, becauſe they are Field-Flowers. But thoſe which *perfume* the *Air* moſt delightfully, not *paſſed* by as the reſt, but being *Trodden upon* and *Cruſhed*, are three, that is, Burnet, Wild-Time, and Water-Mints. Therefore you are to ſet whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleaſure when you walk or tread.

For *Gardens*, (ſpeaking of thoſe which are indeed *Princelike*, as we have done of *Buildings*) The Contents ought not well to be under *Thirty Acres of Ground*, and to be devided into three parts; a *Green* in the entrance, a *Heath* or *Deſart* in the going forth, and the *Main Garden* in the midſt, beſides *Alleys* on both ſides. And I like well, that four Acres of Ground be Aſſigned to the *Green*, ſix to the Heath, four and four to either *Side*, and twelve to the *Main Garden*. The *Green* hath two pleaſures; the one, becauſe nothing is more pleaſant to the Eye than Green Graſs kept finely ſhorn; the other, becauſe it will give you a fair Alley in the midſt, by which you may go in front upon a *Stately Hedge*, which is to encloſe the *Garden*. But becauſe the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Year or Day, you ought not to buy the ſhade in the *Garden*, by going in the Sun through the *Green*; therefore you are of either *Side* the *Green* to plant a *Covert Alley* upon Carpenters Work, about twelve foot in Heighth, by which you may go in ſhade into the *Garden*. As for the making of *Knots* of *Figures*, with *Divers Coloured Earths*, that they may lie under the Windows

dows of the Houſe, on that Side which the *Garden* ſtands, they be but toys, you may ſee as good ſights many times in Tarts. The *Garden* is beſt to be ſquare, encompaſſed on all the four Sides with a *Stately Arched Hedge*: the *Arches* to be upon *Pillars* of Carpenters Work, of ſome ten foot high, and ſix foot broad, and the *ſpaces* between of the ſame Dimenſion with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Over the *Arches* let there be an entire *Hedge*, of ſome four foot high, framed alſo upon Carpenters Work, and upon the *Upper Hedge*, over every *Arch* a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receive a *Cage* of *Birds*; and over every *Space* between the *Arches* ſome other little *Figure*, with broad Plates of *Round Coloured Glaſs* gilt, for the *Sun* to play upon. But this *Hedge*, I intend to be raiſed upon a *Bank*, not ſteep, but gently ſlope, of ſome ſix foot, ſet all with *Flowers*. Alſo I underſtand, that this *Square* of the *Garden*, ſhould not be the whole breadth of the Ground, but to leave on the either ſide Ground enough for diverſity of *Side Alleys* unto which the two *Covert Alleys* of the *Green* may deliver you; but there muſt be no *Alleys* with *Hedges* at either and of this great *Incloſure*: not at the *Higher End*, for letting your proſpect upon this fair Hedge from the *Green*; nor at the *further End*, for letting your proſpect from the *Hedge* through the *Arches* upon the *Heath*. For the ordering of the Ground within the *Great Hedge*, I leave it to Variety of Device. Adviſing nevertheleſs, that whatſoever form you caſt it into; firſt it be not too buſie, or full of Work; wherein I, for my part, do not like *Images cut out in Juniper*, or other *Garden-ſtuff*, they for Children. *Little low Hedges*, Round like Welts, with ſome pretty *Pyramids*, I like well: And in ſome places *Fair Collums* upon Frames of Carpenters Work. I would alſo have the *Alleys* ſpacious and fair. You may have *cloſer Alleys* upon the *Side Grounds*, but none in the *Main Garden*. I wiſh alſo in the very middle a *fair Mount*, with three Aſcents and Alleys, enough for four to walk a breaſt, which I would have to be perfect Circles, without any Bulwarks or Imboſſments,

ments, and the *whole Mount* to be thirty foot high, and and ſome fine *Banquetting Houſe*, with ſome *Chimnies* neatly caſt, and without too much *Glaſs*.

For *Fountains*, they are a great Beauty and Refreſhment, but *Pools* marr all, and make the *Garden* unwholſome, and full of Flies and Froggs. *Fountains* I intend to be of two Natures, the one that *ſprinkleth* or *ſpouteth Water*, the other a *fair Receipt* of *Water*, of ſome thirty or forty foot ſquare, but without Fiſh, or Slime, or Mud. For the firſt, the *Ornaments* of *Images Guilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in uſe, do well; but the main matter is, ſo to convey the Water, as it never ſtay, either in the Bowls, or in the Ciſtern, that the Water be never by reſt *Diſcoloured*, *Green* or *Red*, or the like; or gather any *Moſſineſs* or *Putrefaction*. Beſides that, it is to be cleanſed every day by the hand; alſo ſome ſteps up to it, and ſome *Fine Pavement* about it doth well. As for the other kind of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing-Pool*, it may admit much Curioſity and Beauty, wherewith we will not trouble our ſelves, as that the bottom be finely paved, and with Images, the ſides likewiſe; and withal Embelliſhed with coloured Glaſs, and ſuch things of Luſtre; Encompaſſed alſo with fine Rails of low Statues. But the main point is the ſame, which we mentioned in the former kind of *Fountain*, which is, that the *Water* be in *perpetual motion*, fed by a Water higher than the *Pool*, and delivered into it by fair *Spouts*, and then diſcharged away under Ground by ſome equality of Bores, that it ſtay little. And for fine Devices of Arching Water without ſpilling and making it riſe in ſeveral forms (of Feathers, Drinking-Glaſſes, Canopies, and the like) they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to Health and Sweetneſs.

For the *Heath*, was the third part of our Plot, I wiſh it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *Natural Wildneſs*. *Trees* I would have none in it, but ſome *Thickets*, made only of *Sweet-Briar*, and *Hony-Suckle*, and ſome

Wild

Wild Vine amongſt, and the Ground ſet with *Violets*, *Strawberries* and *Primroſes*: for theſe are Sweet, and proſper in the Shade. And theſe to be in the *Heath*, here and there; not in any Order. I like alſo little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Mole-Hills* (ſuch as are in *Wild-Heaths*) to be ſet, ſome with Wild-Thyme, ſome with Pinks, ſome with Germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; ſome with Periwinkle, ſome with Violets, ſome with Strawberries, ſome with Couſlips, ſome with Daizies, ſome with Red-Roſes, ſome with Lilium Convallium, ſome with Sweet-Williams Red, ſome with Bears-Foot, and the like Low Flowers, being withal Sweet and Sightly. Part of which *Heaps*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Buſhes*, prickt upon their top, and part without; the *Standards* to be Roſes, Juniper, Holly, Bear-berries, (but here and there, becauſe of the ſmell of their bloſſom) Red Currans, Gooſeberries, Roſemary, Bays, Sweet-Briar, and ſuch like. But theſe *Standards* to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Courſe.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fit them with variety of *Alleys*, private, to give a full ſhade, ſome of them, whereſoever the Sun be. You are to frame ſome of them, likewiſe for ſhelter, that when the wind blows ſharp, you may walk as in a Gallery. And thoſe Alleys muſt be likewiſe hedged at both ends, to keep out the Wind, and theſe *cloſer Alleys* muſt be ever finely Gravelled, and no Graſs, becauſe of going wet. In many of theſe *Alleys* likewiſe, you are to ſet *Fruit Trees* of all ſorts; as well upon the Walls, as in Ranges. And this would be generally obſerved, that the *Borders* wherein you plant your *Fruit Trees*, be fair and large, and low, and not ſteep, and ſet with *fine Flowers*, but thin and ſparingly, leſt they deceive the *Trees*. At the end of both the *ſide Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of ſome pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Encloſure breaſt-high, to look abroad into the Fields.

For

For the *Main Garden*, I do not deny, but there ſhould be ſome fair *Alleys* ranged on both ſides with *Fruit-Trees*, and ſome pretty Tufts of Fruit-Trees and *Arbors* with *Seats*, ſet in ſome decent Order; but theſe to be by no means ſet too thick; but to leave the *Main Garden* ſo, as it be not cloſe, but the Air open and free; for as for *Shade* I would have you reſt upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walk, if you be diſpoſed, in the Heat of the Year or Day: but to make account, that the *Main Garden* is for the more temperate parts of the Year; and in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning and the Evening, or Over-caſt Days.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that largeneſs, as they may be *turfed*, and have *Living Plants* and *Buſhes* ſet in them, that the *Birds* may have more ſcope, and natural Neſting, and that no *foulneſs* appear in the *floor* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Plat-form of a *Princely Garden*, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing, not a Model, but ſome general Lines of it, and in this I have ſpared for no coſt. But it is nothing, for *Great Princes*, that for the moſt part taking advice with Work-men, with no leſs Coſt, ſet their things together, and ſometimes add *Statua's* and ſuch things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to the true pleaſure of a *Garden*.

XLVII.

Of Negotiating.

IT is generally better to *deal* by Speech, than by Letter; and by the mediation of a Third, than by a man's ſelf. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an Anſwer by Letter back again; or when it may ſerve for a Man's Juſtification afterwards to produce his own Letter, or where it may be danger to be in-

terrupted or heard by pieces. To *deal* in *Perſon* is good, when a Man's face breedeth Regard, as commonly with Inferiors; or in tender Caſes, where a Man's Eye upon the Countenance of him with whom he ſpeaketh, may give him a Direction how far to go: And generally where a man will reſerve to himſelf liberty either to *Diſavow*, or to *Expound*. In choice of *Inſtruments*, it is better to chuſe men of a plainer ſort that are like to do that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the ſucceſs, than thoſe that are cunning to contrive out of other Mens Buſineſs ſomewhat to grace themſelves, and will help the matter in Report for ſatisfaction ſake. Uſe all ſuch Perſons as affect the buſineſs wherein they are imployed, for that quickneth much; and ſuch as are fit for the matter: As bold Men for Expoſtulation, fair ſpoken Men for Perſwaſion, crafty Men for Enquiry and Obſervation, froward and abſurd Men for buſineſs that doth not well bear out it ſelf. Uſe alſo ſuch as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have imployed them, for that breeds confidence, and they will ſtrive to maintain their Preſcription. It is better to ſound a Perſon with whom one *Deals* afar off, than to fall upon the point at firſt; except you mean to ſurpriſe him by ſome ſhort Queſtion. It is better *Dealing* with Men in Appetite, than with thoſe that are where they would be. If a Man *Deal* with another upon Conditions, the ſtart of the firſt Performance is all, which a Man cannot reaſonably Demand, except either the nature of the thing be ſuch which muſt go before; or elſe a Man can perſwade the other Party that he ſhall ſtill need him in ſome other thing; or elſe that he be counted the honeſter Man. All Practice is to *Diſcover*, or to *Work*: Men *Diſcover* themſelves in Truſt, in Paſſion, at unawares, and of neceſſity, when they would have ſomewhat done, and cannot find an apt Pretext. If you would *Work* any Man, you muſt either know his nature and

faſhions,

faſhions, and ſo lead him; or his ends, and ſo perſwade him; or his weakneſs and diſadvantages, and ſo awe him; or thoſe that have Intereſt in him, and ſo govern him. In *Dealing* with cunning Perſons we muſt ever conſider their ends to interpret their Speeches; and it is good to ſay little to them, and that which they leaſt look for. In all *Negotiations* of difficulty a Man may not look to ſow and reap at once, but muſt prepare buſineſs, and ſo ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII.

Of Followers and Friends.

COSTLY *Followers* are not to be liked, leſt while a Man maketh his Train longer, he makes his Wings ſhorter. I reckon to be coſtly, not them alone which charge the Purſe, but which are wearisome and importunate in Suits. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge no higher Conditions than Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worſe to be liked, which follow not upon Affection to him with whom they range themſelves, but upon Diſcontentment conceived againſt ſome other; whereupon commonly enſueth that ill intelligence that we many times ſee between great Perſonages. Likewiſe glorious *Followers* who make themſelves as Trumpets of Commendation of thoſe that follow, are full of Inconvenience; for they taint buſineſs through want of Secrecy, and they export Honour from a Man, and make him a return in Envy. There is a kind of *Followers* likewiſe which are dangerous, being indeed Eſpials; which enquire the ſecrets of the Houſe, and bear Tales of them to other; yet ſuch Men, many times, are in great favour; for

they are officious, and commonly exchange Tales, the *Following* by certain *Eſtates* of Men, anſwerable to that which a great Perſon himſelf profeſſeth, (as of Soldiers to him that hath been employed in the Wars, and the like) hath ever been a thing Civil, and well taken even in Monarchies; ſo it be without too much pomp of popularity. But the moſt honourable kind of *Following*, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to advance Vertue and Deſert in all ſorts of Perſons. And yet where there is no eminent odds in ſufficiency, it is better to take with the more paſſable, than with the more able. And beſides, to ſpeak truth, in baſe times Active Men are of more uſe than Vertuous. It is true, that in Government it is good to uſe Men of one Rank equally; for to countenance ſome extraordinarily, is to make them inſolent, and the reſt diſcontent, becauſe they may claim a due. But contrariwiſe, in favour to uſe Men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the Perſons preferred more thankful, and the reſt more officious, becauſe all is of favour. It is good diſcretion not to make too much of any Man at the firſt; becauſe one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not ſafe; for it ſhews Softneſs, and gives a freedom to Scandal and Diſreputation; for thoſe that would not cenſure or ſpeak ill of a Man immediately, will talk more boldly of thoſe that are ſo great with them, and thereby wound their honour, yet to be diſtracted with many is worſe; for it makes Men to be of the laſt Impreſſion, and full of Change. To take advice of ſome few *Friends* is ever honourable; for *Lookers on, many times, ſee more than Gameſters, and the Vale beſt diſcovereth the Hill.* There is little Friendſhip in the World, and leaſt of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between Superior and inferior, whoſe Fortunes may comprehend one the other.

XLIX.

Of Suitors.

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken, and private *Suits* do putrefie the publick Good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds, I mean, not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Suits* which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they ſee there may be life in the matter by ſome other mean, they will be content to win a Thank, or take a ſecond Reward, or at leaſt to make uſe in the mean time of the *Suitor's* hopes. Some take hold of *Suits* only for an occaſion to croſs ſome other; or to make an information, whereof they could not otherwiſe have apt Pretext, without care what become of the *Suit* when that turn is ſerv'd; or generally, to make other Mens buſineſs a kind of Entertainment to bring in their own. Nay, ſome undertake *Suits* with a full purpoſe to let them fall, to the end, to gratifie the adverſe Party or Competitor. Surely there is in ſome ſort a Right in every *Suit*; either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Suit* of Controverſie; or a Right of Deſert, if it be a *Suit* of Petition. If Affections lead a Man to favour the wrong ſide in Juſtice, let him rather uſe his Countenance to compound the matter, than to carry it. If Affection lead a Man to favour the leſs worthy in Deſert, let him do it without depraving or diſabling the better Deſerver. In *Suits* which a Man doth not well underſtand, it is good to refer them to ſome Friend of Truſt and Judgment, that may report, whether he may deal in them with Honour; but let him chuſe well his Referendaries, for elſe he may be led by the Noſe. *Suitors* are ſo diſtaſted with Delays and Abuſes, that plain dealing in denying to deal in

Suits at firſt, and reporting the ſucceſs barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deſerved, is grown not only Honourable, but alſo Gracious. In *Suits* of Favour, the firſt coming ought to take little place; ſo far forth Conſideration may be had of his Truſt, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwiſe have been had, but by him, advantage be not taken of the Note, but the Party left to his other means, and in ſome ſort recompenced for his Diſcovery. To be ignorant of the value of a *Suit* is ſimplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the Right thereof is want of Conſcience. Secrecy in *Suits* is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardneſs, may diſcourage ſome kind of *Suitors*; but doth quicken and awaken others; but Timing of the *Suit* is the principal. Timing, I ſay, not only in reſpect of the Perſon that ſhould grant it, but in reſpect of thoſe which are like to croſs it. Let a Man in the choice of his mean, rather chuſe the fitteſt mean, than the greateſt mean; and rather them that deal in certain Things, than thoſe that are General. The Reparation of a Denial, is ſometimes equal to the firſt Grant; if a Man ſhew himſelf, neither dejected, nor diſcontented: *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras*; is a good rule, where a Man hath ſtrength of Favour: But otherwiſe a Man were better riſe in his *Suit*; for he that would have ventured at firſt to have loſt the *Suitor*, will not in the Concluſion loſe both the *Suitor*, and his own former favour. Nothing is thought ſo eaſie a requeſt to a great Perſon as his Letter; and yet, if it be not in a good Cauſe, it is ſo much out of his Reputation. There are no worſe Inſtruments than theſe general Contrivers of *Suits*, for they are but a kind of poyſon and infection to publick proceedings.

Of

L.

Of Studies.

STUDIES ſerve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their chief uſe for Delight is in Privateneſs and Retiring; for Ornament is in Diſcourſe; and for Ability, is in the Judgment and Diſpoſition of Buſineſs. For expert Men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars one by one; but the general Counſels and the Plots, and Marſhalling of Affairs, come beſt from thoſe that are *Learned*. To ſpend too much time in *Studies* is ſloth; to uſe them too much for Ornament is affectation; to make Judgment wholly by their Rules is the humour of a Scholar. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by experience: for Natural Abilities are like Natural Plants, that need Proyning by *Study*, and *Studies* themſelves do give forth Directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty Men contemn *Studies*, Simple Men admire them, and Wiſe Men uſe them: For they teach not their own uſe, but that is a Wiſdom without them, and above them, won by Obſervation. Read not to Contradict and Confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find Talk and Diſcourſe, but to weigh and conſider. Some *Books* are to be taſted, others to be ſwallowed, and ſome few to be chewed and digeſted; that is, ſome *Books* are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiouſly; and ſome few to be read, wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some *Books* alſo may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by others: But that would be only in the leſs important Arguments, and the meaner ſort of *Books*, elſe diſtilled *Books* are like common diſtilled Waters, flaſhy things. Reading maketh a full Man; Conference a

ready Man; and Writing an exact Man. And therefore if a Man Write little, he had need have a great memory; if he Confer little, he had need have a preſent Wit; and if he Read little, he had need have much cunning to ſeem to know that he doth not. *Hiſtories* make Men Wiſe, *Poets* Witty, the *Mathematicks* Subtil, *Natural Philoſophy* Deep, *Moral* Grave, *Logick* and *Rhetorick* able to Contend. *Abiunt Studia in Mores*; Nay, there is no Stand or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by fit *Studies*: Like as Diſeaſes of the Body may have appropriate Exerciſes. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins, Shooting for the Lungs and Breaſt, Gentle Walking for the Stomach, Riding for the Head, and the like. So if a Man's Wit be wandering, let him *Study* the *Mathematicks*; for in Demonſtrations, if his Wit be called away never ſo little, he muſt begin again: If his Wit be not apt to diſtinguiſh or find differences, let him *Study* the *School-Men*; for they are *Cumini ſectores*. If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illuſtrate another, let him *Study* the *Lawyers Caſes*; ſo every Defect of the mind may have a ſpecial Receipt.

LI.

Of Faction.

MANY have an Opinion not Wiſe; that for a Prince to govern his Eſtate, or for a great Perſon to govern his Proceedings, according to the reſpect of *Factions*, is a principal part of Policy; whereas contrariwiſe, the chieſeſt Wiſdom is, either in ordering thoſe things which are General, and wherein Men of ſeveral *Factions* do nevertheleſs agree; or in dealing with correſpondence to particular perſons one by one.

But

But I ſay not, that the conſideration of *Factions* is to be neglected. Mean Men in their riſing muſt adhere, but great Men that have ſtrength in themſelves, were better to maintain themſelves indifferent and Neutral: Yet even in beginners to adhere ſo moderately, as he be a Man of the one *Faction*, which is moſt paſſable with the other, commonly giveth beſt way. The lower and weaker *Faction* is the firmer in Conjunction: and it is often ſeen, that a few that are ſtiff, do tire out a great number that are more moderate. When one of the *Factions* is extinguiſhed, the remaining ſubdivideth: As the *Faction* between *Lucullus*, and the reſt of the Nobles of the Senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while againſt the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*; but when the Senates Authority was pulled down, *Cæſar* and *Pompey* ſoon after brake. The *Faction* or Party of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæſar*, againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, held out likewiſe for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were overthrown, then ſoon after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and ſubdivided. Theſe examples are of Wars, but the ſame holdeth in private *Factions*: And therefore thoſe that are Seconds in *Factions*, do many times, when the *Faction* ſubdivideth, prove Principals; but many times alſo they prove Cyphers and caſhier'd. For many a Man's ſtrength is in oppoſition, and when that faileth, he groweth out of uſe. It is commonly ſeen, that Men once placed, take in with the contrary *Faction* to that, by which they enter, thinking belike that they have their firſt ſure, and now are ready for a new Purchaſe. The Traitor in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have ſtuck long in Ballancing, the winning of ſome one Man caſteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two *Factions*, proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueneſs to a Man's ſelf, with end to make uſe of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little ſuſpect in *Popes*, when they have often in their mouth

mouth *padre commune*, and take it to be a Sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatneſs of his own Houſe. Kings had need beware, how they ſide themſelves, and make themſelves as of a *Faction* or Party; for Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raiſe an Obligation, Paramount to Obligation of Soveraignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis*; as was to be ſeen in the *League* of *France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a ſign of weakneſs in Princes, and much to the prejudice both of their Authority and Buſineſs. The motions of *Factions* under Kings, ought to be like the motions (as the *Aſtronomers* ſpeak) of the Inferior Orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet ſtill are quietly carried by the higher motion of *Primum Mobile*.

LII.

Of Ceremonies and Reſpects.

HE that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of Virtue, as the Stone had need to be rich, that is ſet without foil. But if a Man mark it well, it is in praiſe and commendation of Men, as it is in gettings and gains: For the Proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purſes*; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true, that ſmall matters win great commendation, becauſe they are continually in uſe, and in note; whereas the occaſion of any great Virtue cometh but on Feſtivals. Therefore it doth much add to a Man's Reputation, and is, (as Queen *Iſabella* ſaid) *Like perpetual Letters Commendatory*, to have good *forms*. To attain them, it almoſt ſufficeth not to deſpiſe them; for ſo ſhall a Man obſerve them in others: And let him truſt himſelf

himſelf with the reſt. For if he labour too much to expreſs them, he ſhall loſe their Grace, which is to be Natural and Unaffected. Some Mens behaviour is like a Verſe, wherein every Syllable is meaſured. How can a Man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to ſmall obſervations? Not to uſe *Ceremonies* at all, is to teach others not to uſe them again; and ſo diminiſh *reſpect* to himſelf; eſpecially, they are not to be omitted to ſtrangers, and formal Natures: But the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the Moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminiſh the faith and credit of him that ſpeaks. And certainly, there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting Paſſions amongſt Complements, which is of ſingular uſe, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongſt a Man's Peers, a Man ſhall be ſure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep State. Amongſt a Man's Inferiors, one ſhall be ſure of Reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any thing, ſo that he giveth another occaſion of Society, maketh himſelf cheap. To apply ones ſelf to others is good, ſo it be with Demonſtration, that a Man doth it upon regard, and not facility. It is a good Precept generally in ſeconding another, yet to add ſomewhat of ones own; as if you would grant his opinion, let it be with ſome diſtinction; if you will follow his Motion, let it be with Condition; if you allow his Counſel, let it be with alledging further Reaſon. Men had need beware, how they be too perfect in Complements: For be they never ſo ſufficient otherwiſe, their enviers will be ſure to give them that Attribute, to the diſadvantage of their greater Vertues. It is loſs alſo in buſineſs, to be too full of *reſpects*, or to be too curious in obſerving Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* ſaith, *He that conſidereth the Wind ſhall not Sow, and he that looketh to the Clouds ſhall not Reap.* A wiſe Man will make more opportunities than he finds. Mens Behaviour ſhould be like

like their Apparel, not too Strait, or point device, but free for Exerciſe or Motion.

LIII.

Of Praiſe.

PRAISE is the Reflection of Vertue, but it is as the Glaſs or Body which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the common People, it is commonly falſe and naught, and rather followeth vain Perſons than vertuous. For the common People underſtand not many excellent vertues: the loweſt vertues draw *praiſe* from them, the middle vertues work in them Aſtoniſhment or Admiration, but of the higheſt Virtues they have no ſence or perceiving at all, but ſhews and *Species virtutibus ſimiles* ſerve beſt with them. Certainly Fame is like a River, that beareth up things light and ſwoln, and drowns things weighty and ſolid: But if Perſons of Quality and Judgment concur, then it is, (as the Scripture ſaith) *Nomen bonum inſtar unguenti fragrantis.* It filleth all round about, and will not eaſily away: For the Odours of Oyntments are more durable than thoſe of Flowers. There be ſo many falſe Points of *Praiſe* that a Man may juſtly hold it a ſuſpect. Some *Praiſes* proceed meerly of Flattery, and if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certain common Attributes, which may ſerve every Man: If he be a cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch Flatterer, which is a Man's ſelf: And wherein a Man thinketh beſt of himſelf, therein the Flatterer will uphold him moſt; but if he be an impudent Flatterer, look wherein a Man is conſcious to himſelf that he is moſt defective, and is moſt out of Countenance in himſelf, that will the Flatterer Entitle him to per force, *Spreta Conſcientia.* Some *Praiſes* come

come of good wiſhes and reſpects, which is a form due in Civility to Kings and great Perſons, *Laudando præcipere*, when by telling Men what they are, they repreſent to them what they ſhould be. Some Men are praiſed maliciouſly to their hurt, thereby to ſtir envy and jealouſie towards them, *Peſſimum genus inimicorum laudantium*, inſomuch as it was a Proverb amongſt the *Grecians*; that *he that was praiſed to his hurt ſhould have a puſh riſe upon his Noſe*; as we ſay, *That a bliſter will riſe upon ones Tongue that tells a Lye.* Certainly moderate *praiſe*, uſed with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. *Solomon* ſaith, *He that praiſeth his friend aloud, riſing early, it ſhall be to him no better than a Curſe.* Too much magnifying of a Man or matter, doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and ſcorn. To *praiſe* a Man's ſelf cannot be decent, except it be in rare caſes; but to *praiſe* a Man's Office or profeſſion, he may do it with good Grace, and with a kind of Magnanimity. The *Cardinals* of *Rome*, which are Theologues, and Fryars, and Schoolmen, have a Phraſe of notable contempt and ſcorn towards civil buſineſs: For they call all Temporal buſineſs, of Wars, Embaſſages, Judicature, and other employments, *Shirreri*, which is under *Sheriffries*, as if they were but matters for Under-Sheriffs and Catchpoles: though many times thoſe *Under-Sheriffries* do more good than their high ſpeculations. Saint *Paul*, when he boaſts of himſelf, he doth oft interlace; *I ſpeak like a Fool*; but ſpeaking of his Calling, he ſaith, *Magnifico Apoſtolatum meum.*

LIV.

Of Vain Glory.

IT was prettily deviſed of *Æſop*, *The Fly ſate upon the Axletree of the Chariot-Wheel, and ſaid, What a Duſt do I raiſe?* So are there ſome *vain Perſons*, that whatſoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater means, if they have never ſo little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are *glorious*, muſt needs be *factious*; for all bravery ſtands upon compariſons. They muſt needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be ſecret, and therefore not effectual; but according to the *French* Proverb, *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit; Much Bruit, little Fruit.* Yet certainly there is uſe of this Quality in Civil Affairs. Where there is an Opinion and Fame to be created, either of Virtue or Greatneſs, theſe Men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth in the caſe of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, *There are ſometimes great effects of croſs Lyes*: As if a Man that Negotiates between two Princes, to draw them to joyn in a War againſt the third, doth extol the Forces of either of them above meaſure, the one to the other: And ſometimes he that deals between Man and Man, raiſeth his own credit with both, by pretending greater Intereſt than he hath in either. And in theſe and the like kinds, it often falls out, that *ſomewhat* is produced of *nothing*: For Lyes are ſufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Subſtance. In Military Commanders and Soldiers, *Vain Glory* is an eſſential Point: For as Iron ſharpens Iron, ſo by *Glory* one Courage ſharpneth another. In caſes of great Enterpriſe, upon Charge and Adventure, a Compoſition of *Glorious* Natures doth put Life into Buſineſs; and thoſe that are of ſolid and ſober Natures have more

of

of the Ballaſt than of the Sail. In Fame of Learning the Flight will flow, without ſome Feathers of *Oſtentation. Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros ſcribunt, Nomen ſuum inſcribunt. Socrates, Ariſtotle, Galen*, were Men full of *Oſtentation.* Certainly *Vain Glory* helpeth to perpetuate a Man's Memory; and Virtue was never ſo beholden to humane Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus*, born her Age ſo well, if it had not been joyned with ſome *Vanity* in themſelves; like unto *Varniſh*, that makes Cielings not only ſhine, but laſt. But all this while, when I ſpeak of *Vain Glory*, I mean not of that property that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus, Omnium quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quadam Oſtentator:* For that proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of Natural Magnanimity and Diſcretion: And in ſome Perſons, is not only Comely, but Gracious. For Excuſations, Ceſſions, Modeſty it ſelf well governed, are but Arts of *Oſtentation.* And amongſt thoſe Arts there is none better than that which *Plinius Secundus* ſpeaketh of, which is to be liberal of Praiſe and Commendation to others, in that wherein a Man's ſelf hath any Perfection. For, ſaith *Pliny* very wittily, *In commending another, you do your ſelf right: For he that you commend, is either Superior to you, in that you commend, or Inferior. If he be Inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: If he be Superior, if he be not to be commended, you much leſs Glorious.* Men are the ſcorn of wiſe Men, the admiration of Fools, the Idols of Paraſites, and the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

Of

LV.

Of Honour and Reputation.

THE Winning of *Honour* is but the revealing of Man's Virtue and Worth without Diſadvantage. For ſome in their Actions do woo and affect *Honour* and *Reputation*; which ſort of Men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And ſome, contrariwiſe, darken their Virtue in the ſhew of it, ſo as they be undervalued in Opinion. If a Man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been atchieved, but not with ſo good circumſtance, he ſhall purchaſe more *Honour*, than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a Man ſo temper his Actions, as in ſome one of them he doth content every Faction or Combination of People, the Muſick will be the fuller. A Man is an ill Husband of his *Honour* that entreth into any Action, the failing wherein may diſgrace him more than the carrying of it through can *Honour* him. *Honour* that is gained and broken upon another, hath the quickeſt reflection, like Diamonds cut with Faſcets. And therefore let a Man contend to excel any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in out-ſhooting them, if he can, in their own Bow. Diſcreet Followers and Servants help much to *Reputation*: *Omnis fama à Domeſticis emanat.* Envy, which is the Canker of *Honour* is beſt extinguiſhed by declaring a Man's ſelf in his ends, rather to ſeek Merit than Fame; and by attributing a Man's ſucceſſes, rather to Divine Providence and Felicity than to his own Virtue or Policy. The true marſhalling of the Degrees of *Soveraign Honour*, are theſe. In the firſt place are, *Conditores Imperiorum*, *Founders of States*, and *Commonwealths*; ſuch as were *Romulus*,

Romulus, *Cyrus*, *Cæſar*, *Ottoman*, *Iſmael*. In the ſecond place are, *Legiſlatores*, *Law-givers*; which are alſo called *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, becauſe they govern by their Ordinances after they are gone; ſuch were *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Juſtinian*, *Edgar*, *Alphonſus* of *Caſtile* the wiſe, that made the *Siete Patridas*. In the third place are, *Liberatores* or *Salvatores*; ſuch as compound the long miſeries of Civil Wars, or deliver their Countreys from Servitude of Strangers or Tyrants; as *Auguſtus Cæſar*, *Veſpaſianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoricus*, King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*. In the fourth place are *Propagatores*, or *Propugnatores Imperii*; ſuch as in Honourable Wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence againſt Invaders. And in the laſt place are *Patres Patriæ*, which Reign juſtly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which laſt kinds need no Examples, they are in ſuch number. Degrees of *Honour* in Subjects are: Firſt, *Participes Curarum*, thoſe upon whom Princes do diſcharge the greateſt Weight of their Affairs, their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The next are, *Duces Belli*, *Great Leaders*, ſuch as are Princes Lieutenants, and do them notable ſervices in the Wars. The third are *Gratioſi*, *Favourites*, ſuch as need not this ſcantling, to be Solace to the Soveraign, and harmleſs to the People. And the fourth *Negotiis Pares*, ſuch as have great places under Princes, and execute their places with ſufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewiſe which may be ranked amongſt the greateſt, which hapneth rarely, that is, of ſuch as *Sacrifice themſelves to Death* or *Danger* for the *Good* of their *Countrey*; as was *M. Regulus*, and the two *Decii*.

LVI.

Of Judicature.

JUDGES ought to remember, that their Office is, *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare*: *To interpret Law*, and not to *make Law*, or *give Law*: Elſe will it be like the Authority claimed by the *Church* of *Rome*, which under pretext of expoſition of Scripture, doth not ſtick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by *ſhew* of *Antiquity* to introduce *Novelty*. *Judges* ought to be more learned than Witty, more Reverend than Plauſible, and more adviſed than Confident. Above all things Integrity is their Portion and proper Virtue: *Curſed* (ſaith the Law) *is he that removeth the Land Mark.* The miſlayer of a *meer-Stone* is to blame; but it is the unjuſt *Judge* that is the Capital Remover of Land-Marks, when he defineth amiſs of Lands and Property. One foul Sentence doth more hurt than many foul Examples; for theſe do but corrupt the Stream, the other corrupteth the Fountain. So ſaith *Solomon*, *Fons turbatus, & Vena corrupta, eſt Juſtus cadens in cauſa ſua coram Adverſario.* The Office of *Judges* may have reference unto the *Parties that ſue*, unto the *Advocates that plead*, unto the *Clerks* and *Miniſters* of *Juſtice* underneath them, and to the *Soveraign* or *State* above them.

First, For the *Cauſes* or *Parties that ſue*. *There be* (ſaith the Scripture) *that turn Judgment into Wormwood*; and ſurely there be alſo that turn it into *Vinegar*; for Injuſtice maketh it bitter, and Delays make it ſour. The principal Duty of a *Judge* is to ſuppreſs force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is cloſe and diſguiſed. Add thereto contentious Suits, which ought to be ſpewed out as the Surfeit of Courts. A *Judge* ought to prepare his way

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to a Juſt Sentence, as God uſeth to prepare his way by *raiſing Valleys*, and *taking down Hills:* So when there appeareth on either ſide an high Hand, violent Proſecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, Great Counſel, then is the Virtue of a Judge ſeen, to make Inequality Equal, that he may plant his *Judgment* as upon an even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit ſanguinem*; and where the Wine-Preſs is hard wrought, it yields a harſh Wine that taſtes of the Grape-Stone. *Judges* muſt beware of hard Conſtructions, and ſtrained Inferences; for there is no worſe Torture than the Torture of Laws, eſpecially, in caſe of Laws penal; they ought to have care, that that which was meant for Terror, be not turned into Rigor, and that they bring not upon the People that Shower whereof the Scripture ſpeaketh, *Pluet ſuper eos Laqueos:* for penal Laws preſſed are a *Shower* of *Snares* upon the People. Therefore let *Penal Laws*, if they have been Sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the preſent Time, be by wiſe *Judges* confined in the Execution, *Judicis Officium eſt, ut Res ita Tempora Rerum*, &c. In *Cauſes of Life* and *Death*, *Judges* ought (as far as the Law permitteth) in Juſtice to remember Mercy; and to caſt a ſevere Eye upon the Example, but a merciful Eye upon the Perſon.

Secondly, For the *Advocates* and *Council* that plead; Patience and Gravity of hearing is an eſſential part of Juſtice, and an over-ſpeaking *Judge* is no *well-tuned Cymbal*. It is no Grace to a *Judge*, firſt to find that which he might have heard in due time from the Bar, or to ſhew quickneſs of conceit in cutting off Evidence or Counſel too ſhort, or to prevent Informations by Queſtions though pertinent. The parts of a *Judge* in hearing are four; To direct the Evidence; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of Speech. To Recapitulate, Select, and Collate the material Points of that which hath been ſaid; And to give the Rule or Sentence. Whatſoever is above theſe, is too

much; and proceedeth either of Glory and willingneſs to ſpeak, or of Impatience to hear, or of ſhortneſs of Memory, or of want of a ſtayed and equal Attention. It is a ſtrange thing to ſee, that the boldneſs of *Advocates* ſhould prevail with *Judges*; whereas they ſhould imitate God in whoſe ſeat they ſit, who *repreſſeth the Preſumptuous, and giveth Grace to the Modeſt.* But it is more ſtrange, that *Judges* ſhould have noted Favourites; which cannot but cauſe multiplication of Fees, and ſuſpicion of By-ways. There is due from the *Judge* to the *Advocate* ſome Commendation and Gracing, where *Cauſes* are well handled, and fair pleaded; eſpecially towards the ſide which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the *Client* the Reputation of his *Counſel*, and beats down in him the conceit of his *Cauſe*. There is likewiſe due to the *Publick* a civil Reprehenſion of *Advocates*, where there appeareth cunning Counſel, groſs Neglect, ſlight Information, indiſcreet Preſſing, or an overbold Defence. And let not the *Counſel* at the Bar chop with the *Judge*, nor wind himſelf into the handling of the *Cauſe* anew, after the *Judge* hath declared his Sentence: But on the other ſide, let not the *Judge* meet the *Cauſe* half way, nor give occaſion to the Party to ſay, *His Counſel or Proofs were not heard.*

Thirdly, For that that concerns *Clerks* and *Miniſters.* The Place of *Juſtice* is an hallowed Place; and therefore not only the Bench, but the Foot-pace, and Precincts, and Purpriſe thereof ought to be preſerved without Scandal and Corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture ſaith) *will not be gathered of Thorns or Thiſtles*; neither can *Juſtice* yield her Fruit with Sweetneſs amongſt the Briars and Brambles of Catching and Poling *Clerks* and *Miniſters.* The Attendance of Courts is ſubject to four bad Inſtruments: Firſt, Certain Perſons that are ſowers of Suits which make the Court ſwell, and the Country pine. The ſecond ſort is, Of thoſe that engage Courts in Quarrels of Juriſdiction,

on, and are not truly *Amici Curiæ*, but *Paraſiti Curiæ*, in puffing a Court up beyond her bounds, for their own Scraps and Advantage. The third ſort is, Of thoſe that may be accounted the Left hands of Courts; Perſons that are full of nimble and ſiniſter tricks and ſhifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct Courſes of *Courts*, and bring Juſtice into oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the fourth is, the Poller and Exacter of Fees, which juſtifies the common reſemblance of the *Courts* of *Juſtice* to the *Buſh*, whereunto while the ſheep flies for Defence in Weather, he is ſure to loſe part of his Fleece. On the other ſide, an *Ancient Clerk*, skilful in Precedents, wary in proceeding, and underſtanding in the *Buſineſs* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*, and doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himſelf.

Fourthly, For that which may concern the *Soveraign* and *Eſtate*. *Judges* ought above all to remember the concluſion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*; and to know, that Laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and Oracles not well inſpired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* do often conſult with *Judges*; and again, when *Judges* do often conſult with the *King* and *State*: The one, when there is a matter of Law intervenient in buſineſs of State; The other, when there is ſome conſideration of State intervenient in matter of Law. For many times the things deduced to *Judgment* may be *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the reaſon and conſequence thereof may Trench to point of *Eſtate*. I call matter of Eſtate not only the parts of *Soveraignty*, but whatſoever introduceth any great Alteration, or dangerous Precedent, or concerneth manifeſtly any great portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive, that Juſt Laws and true Policy have any *Antipathy*: For they are like Spirits and Sinews, that one moves with the other. Let *Judges* alſo remember, That *Solomon*'s *Throne* was ſupported by

Lions on both ſides: Let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the *Throne*; being circumſpect, that they do not check or oppoſe any points of *Soveraignty*. Let not *Judges* alſo be ſo ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a Principal part of their Office, a wiſe Uſe and Application of Laws; for they may remember what the *Apoſtle* ſaith of a greater *Law* than theirs, *Nos ſcimus quia Lex bona eſt, modo quis ea utatur legitime.*

LVII.

Of Anger.

TO ſeek to extinguiſh *Anger* utterly, is but a bravery of the Stoicks. We have better Oracles: *Be angry, but ſin not. Let not the Sun go down upon your anger. Anger* muſt be limited and confined, both in Race and Time. We will firſt ſpeak, how the Natural Inclination and Habit *to be angry*, may be attempted and calmed. Secondly, How the particular motions of *anger* may be repreſſed, or at leaſt refrained from doing miſchief. Thirdly, How to raiſe *anger*, or appeaſe *anger* in another.

For the firſt: There is no other way but to Meditate and Ruminate well upon the effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Man's Life. And the beſt time to do this is, to look back upon *Anger*, when the fit is throughly over. *Seneca* ſaith well; *That Anger is like Ruine, which breaks it ſelf upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us, *To poſſeſs our Souls in patience.* Whoſoever is out of *patience*, is out of Poſſeſſion of his *Soul.* Men muſt not turn Bees;

——— *Animaſque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kind of Baſeneſs; as it appears well in the Weakneſs of thoſe Subjects in whom it reigns, Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Only Men muſt beware, that they carry their *Anger* rather with Scorn, than with Fear: So that they may ſeem rather to be above the injury than below it, which is a thing eaſily done, if a Man will give Law to himſelf in it.

For the ſecond Point. The *Cauſes* and *Motives* of *Anger* are chiefly three: Firſt, to be too *ſenſible* of *hurt*: For no Man is *Angry* that feels not himſelf hurt; and therefore tender and delicate Perſons muſt needs be often *Angry*: They have ſo many things to trouble them, which more robuſt Natures have little ſence of. The next is, the Apprehenſion and Conſtruction of the Injury offered, to be in the circumſtances thereof, full of *contempt*. For *contempt* is that which putteth an edge upon *Anger*, as much or more than the *hurt* it ſelf: And therefore when Men are ingenious in picking out circumſtances of *contempt*, they do kindle their *Anger* much. Laſtly, Opinion of the touch of a Man's *Reputation* doth multiply and ſharpen *Anger*: Wherein the remedy is, that a Man ſhould have, as *Gonſalvo* was wont to ſay, *Telam Honoris Craſſiorem*. But in all refrainings of *Anger*, it is the beſt remedy to win Time, and to make a Man's ſelf believe that the Opportunity of his revenge is not yet come; but that he foreſees a time for it, and ſo to ſtill himſelf in the mean time, and reſerve it.

To contain *Anger* from *Miſchief*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two things, whereof you muſt have ſpecial Caution: The one, of extream *bitterneſs of Words*, eſpecially if they be Aculeate and Proper; for *Communia Maledicta* are nothing ſo much. And again, That in *Anger* a Man reveal no Secrets; for that makes him not fit for Society. The other, That you do not *peremptorily break off* in any buſineſs in a fit of

Anger; but howſoever you *ſhew* bitterneſs, do not *act* any thing that is not revocable.

For *raiſing* and *appeaſing Anger* in another: It is done chiefly by *chuſing* of *Times*; when Men are frowardeſt and worſt diſpoſed, to incenſe them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the *contempt*; and the two *remedies* are by the *contraries*: The former, to take good Times, when firſt to relate to a Man an *angry* buſineſs: For the firſt Impreſſion is much; and the other is, to ſever as much as may be the Conſtruction of the Injury from the Point of *contempt*; imputing it to Miſunderſtanding, Fear, Paſſion, or what you will.

LVIII.

Of Viciſſitude of Things.

SOLOMON ſaith, *There is no new thing upon the Earth.* So that as *Plato* had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but a remembrance*: So *Solomon* giveth his ſentence, *That all Novelty is but Oblivion*: Whereby you may ſee, That the River of *Lethe* runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abſtruſe Aſtrologer that ſaith, *If it were not for two things that are conſtant, (The one is, That the fixed Stars ever ſtand at like diſtance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further aſunder; the other, That the Diurnal Motion perpetually keepeth Time) no Individual would laſt one moment.* Certain it is, That the *matter* is in a perpetual Flux, and never at a ſtay. The great Winding-Sheets that bury all things in Oblivion are two; *Deluges* and *Earthquakes*. As for *Conflagrations* and great *Droughts*, they do not meerly diſpeople, but deſtroy. *Phaeton*'s Car went but a Day: And the *Three years Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but particular, and

left

left People alive. As for the great *burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *Weſt Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Deſtructions, by *Deluge* and *Earthquake*, it is further to be noted, That the remnant of People which hap to be reſerved are commonly ignorant and mountainous People, that can give no account of the time paſt; ſo that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you conſider well of the People of the *Weſt-Indies*, it is very probable, that they are a newer or younger People, than the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the deſtruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earthquakes*, (as the *Egyptian* Prieſt told *Solon*, concerning the Iſland of *Atlantis*, *That it was ſwallowed by an Earthquake*) but rather, it was Deſolated by a particular *Deluge*: For *Earthquakes* are ſeldom in thoſe parts. But on the other ſide, they have ſuch *pouring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Aſia*, and *Africk*, and *Europe*, are but Brooks to them. Their *Andes* likewiſe, or Mountains, are far higher than thoſe with us; whereby it ſeems, that the Remnants of Generations of Men were in ſuch a particular *Deluge* ſaved. As for the obſervation that *Machiavel* hath, That the *Jealouſie* of *Sects* doth much extinguiſh the memory of things; traducing *Gregory* the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguiſh all Heathen Antiquities. I do not find that thoſe Zeals do any great Effects, nor laſt long; as it appeared in the Succeſſion of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Viciſſitude* or *Mutations* in the *Superior Globe*, are no fit matter for this preſent Argument. It may be *Plato's Great year*, if the World ſhould laſt ſo long, would have ſome effect; not in renewing the State of like Individuals, (for that in the Fume of thoſe, that conceive the Cœleſtial Bodies have more accurate Influences upon theſe things below, than indeed they have) but in Groſs. *Comets* out of queſtion have likewiſe

wiſe Power and Effect over the Groſs and Maſs of things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, than wiſely obſerved in their Effects, eſpecially in their reſpective Effects; that is, What kind of *Comet* for Magnitude, Colour, Verſion of the Beams, placing in the Region of Heaven, or laſting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a Toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They ſay it is obſerved in the *Low-Countreys*, (I know not in what part) That every five and thirty Years, the ſame kind and ſuit of Years and Weathers comes about again, as great Froſts, great Wet, great Droughts, warm Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime*. It is a thing I do rather mention, becauſe computing backwards, I have found ſome concurrence.

But to leave theſe points of *Nature*, and come to *men*. The greateſt *Viciſſitude* of things amongſt *men*, is, The *Viciſſitude* of *Sects* and *Religions*: For thoſe Orbs rule in mens minds moſt. The *true Religion is built upon the Rock*, the reſt are toſt upon the Waves of Time. To ſpeak therefore of the *Cauſes* of new *Sects*, and to give ſome Counſel concerning them, as far as the weakneſs of Humane Judgment can give ſtay to ſo great Revolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by Diſcords; and when the Holineſs of the Profeſſors of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandal, and withal the Times be Stupid, Ignorant, and Barbarous, you may doubt the ſpringing up of a *new Sect*, if then alſo there ſhould ariſe any extravagant and ſtrange Spirit to make himſelf Author thereof: All which points held, when *Mahomet* publiſhed his *Law*. If a *new Sect* have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not ſpread. The one is, The Supplanting or the Oppoſing of Authority eſtabliſhed: For nothing is more popular than that. The other is, The giving Licence

to

to pleaſures and Voluptuous Life. For as for *Speculative Hereſies*, (ſuch as were in Ancient Times the *Arrians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they work mightily upon Mens Wits, yet they do not produce any great alteration in States, except it be by the help of Civil Occaſions. There be three manner of Plantations of *new Sects*, By the Power of *Signs* and *Miracles*, by the *Eloquence* and *Wiſdom* of *Speech* and *Perſwaſion*, and by the *Sword*; for *Martyrdoms*, I reckon them amongſt *Miracles*, becauſe they ſeem to exceed the ſtrength of Humane Nature: And I may do the like of *Superlative* and *Admirable Holineſs* of *Life*. Surely there is no better way to ſtop the riſing of *new Sects* and *Schiſms*, than to reform abuſes, to compound the ſmaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with Sanguinary perſecutions; and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterneſs.

The *Changes* and *Viciſſitude* in *Wars* are many, but chiefly in three things: In the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *War*; in the *Weapons*, and in the *manner* of the *Conduct*. *Wars* in Ancient Time, ſeemed more to move from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*: For the *Perſians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars* (which are the Invaders) were all Eaſtern People. It is true, the *Gauls* were Weſtern, but we read but of two Incurſions of theirs, the one to *Gallo-Græcia*, the other to *Rome*. But *Eaſt* and *Weſt* have no certain Points of Heaven, and no more have the *Wars*, either from the *Eaſt* or *Weſt* any certainty of Obſervation. But *North* and *South* are fixed, and it hath ſeldom or never been ſeen, that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwiſe. Whereby it is manifeſt, that the Northern *Tract* of the World is in nature the more Martial Religion; be it in reſpect of the Stars of that Hemiſphere, or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is known, is almoſt all Sea;

Sea; or (which is moſt apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern Parts*, which is that, which without Aid of Diſcipline doth make the bodies hardeſt, and the Courages warmeſt.

Upon the *Breaking* and *Shivering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be ſure to have *Wars*. For great Empires, while they ſtand, do enervate and deſtroy the forces of the Natives which they have ſubdued, reſting upon their own Protecting forces; and then when they fail alſo, all goes to ruine, and they become a Prey. So was it in the decay of the *Roman Empire*; and likewiſe in the *Empire* of *Almain*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Feather, and were not unlike to befall to *Spain*, if it ſhould break. The great *Acceſſions* and *Unions* of *Kingdoms* do likewiſe ſtir up *Wars*. For when a State grows to an Overpower, it is like a great flood that will be ſure to overflow. As it hath been ſeen in the States of *Rome*, *Turkie*, *Spain*, and others. Look when the World hath feweſt *Barbarous People*, but ſuch as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live; (as it is almoſt every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no danger of Inundations of People; but when there be *great Shoals* of *People*, which go on to populate without foreſeeing means of Life and Suſtentation, it is of neceſſity that once in an Age or two, they diſcharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations, which the ancient *Northern People* were wont to do by Lot, caſting Lot what part ſhould ſtay at home, and what ſhould ſeek their Fortunes. When a *Warlike State* grows *ſoft* and *effeminate*, they may be ſure of a *War*; for commonly ſuch States are grown rich in the time of their Degenerating, and ſo the Prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a War.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Obſervation; yet we ſee even they have *Returns* and *Viciſſitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known

in the City of the *Oxydrakes* in *India*; and was that which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magick. And it was well known, that the uſe *Ordnance* hath been in *China* above 2000 Years. The condition of *Weapons*, and their improvement are; Firſt, the fetching afar off; for that out-runs the danger, as it is ſeen in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, The ſtrength of the Percuſſion, wherein likewiſe *Ordnance* do exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The Third is, The commodious uſe of them; as that they may ſerve in all Weathers, that the Carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the *Conduct* of the *War*; at the firſt Men reſted exreamly upon *Number*, they did put the *Wars* likewiſe upon *main Force* and *Valour*, pointing days for pitched Fields, and ſo trying it out upon an even match, and they were more ignorant in *Ranging* and *Arraying* their *Battles*. After they grew to reſt upon *Number*, rather Competent than Vaſt, they grew to *advantages* of *Place*, *Cunning Diverſions*, and the like; and they grew more skilful in the *ordering* of their *Battles*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Arms* do flouriſh; in the *middle Age* of a *State Learning*, and then both of them together for a time: In the *declining Age* of a *State*, *Mechanical Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning*, hath his Infancy when it is but beginning, and almoſt Childiſh; then his Youth when it is Luxuriant and Juvenile; then his ſtrength of Years, when it is ſolid and reduced; and laſtly, his *Old Age*; when it waxed dry and exhauſt: But it is not good to look too long upon theſe turning Wheels of *Viciſſitude*, leſt we become giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this Writing.

A Fragment

LIX.

A Fragment of an Eſſay of Fame.

THE *Poets* make *Fame* a *Monſter.* They deſcribe her in part finely and elegantly; and in part gravely and ſententiouſly. They ſay, look how many *Feathers* ſhe hath, ſo many *Eyes* ſhe hath underneath: ſo many *Tongues*; ſo many *Voices*; ſhe pricks up ſo many *Ears.*

This is a *flouriſh:* There follow excellent *Parables*; as that ſhe gathereth ſtrength in going; that ſhe goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the Clouds. That in the day-time ſhe ſitteth in a *Watch-Tower*, and flieth moſt by Night: That ſhe mingleth things done, with things not done: And that ſhe is a terror to great *Cities:* But that which paſſeth all the reſt is: they do recount that the *Earth*, *Mother* of the *Gyants*, that made War againſt *Jupiter*, and were by him deſtroyed, thereupon, in anger, brought forth *Fame:* For certain it is, that *Rebels* figured by the *Gyants* and *Seditious Fames*, and *Libels*, are but *Brothers* and *Siſters*; *Maſculine* and *Feminine.* But now if a Man can tame this *Monſter*, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her flie other ravening Fowl, and kill them, it is ſomewhat worth. But we are infected with the ſtile of the *Poets.* To ſpeak now in a ſad and ſerious manner: There is not in all the Politicks, a *Place* leſs handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of *Fame.* We will therefore ſpeak of theſe *points.* What are falſe *Fames*; and what are true *Fames*; and how they may be beſt diſcerned; how *Fames* may be ſown and raiſed; how they may be ſpread and multiplied, and how they may be checked and laid dead: And other things concerning the *Nature* of *Fame.* *Fame* is of that force, as there is ſcarcely

ſcarcely any great Action wherein it hath not a great part, eſpecially in the *War*. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a *Fame* that he ſcattered; that *Vitellius* had in purpoſe to remove the *Legions* of *Syria* into *Germany*: and the *Legions* of *Germany* into *Syria*: whereupon the *Legions* of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæſar* took *Pompey* unprovided, and laid *aſleep* his induſtry and preparations, by a *Fame* that he cunningly gave out, how *Cæſar's* own Soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with the Wars, and laden with the ſpoils of *Gaul*, would forſake him as ſoon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia* ſetled all things for the Succeſſion of her Son *Tiberius*, by continual giving out, that her Husband *Auguſtus* was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an uſual thing with *Baſhaws*, to conceal the Death of the great *Turk* from the *Janizaries* and Men of War, to ſave the Sacking of *Conſtantinople*, and other *Towns*, as their manner is. *Themiſtocles* made *Xerxes* King of *Perſia* poſt apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out that the *Græcians* had a purpoſe to break his *Bridge* of Ships, which he had made athwart *Helleſpont*. There be a thouſand ſuch like *Examples*; and the more they are, the leſs they need to be repeated; becauſe a Man meeteth with them every where: Therefore, let all wiſe *Governours* have as great a watch and care over *Fame*, as they have of the *Actions* and deſigns themſelves.

The reſt was not finiſhed.

A Civil

LX.

A Civil Character of Julius Cæſar.

JULIUS CÆSAR was partaker at firſt of an exerciſed Fortune; which turned to his benefit: For it abated the haughtineſs of his ſpirit, and whetted his Induſtry. He had a Mind, *turbulent* in his Deſires and Affections; but in his judgment and underſtanding very *ſerene* and *placid*: And this appears by his eaſie deliverances of himſelf, both in his Tranſactions and in his Speech. For no Man ever reſolved more ſwiftly, or ſpake more perſpicuouſly and plainly. There was nothing forced or difficult in his expreſſions. But in his will and appetite, he was of that Condition, that he never reſted in thoſe things he had gotten; but ſtill thirſted and purſued after new; yet ſo, that he would not ruſh into new Affairs raſhly, but ſettle and make an end of the former, before he attempted freſh Actions. So that he would put a ſeaſonable period to all his Undertakings. And therefore, though he won many Battles in *Spain*, and weakned their *Forces* by degrees; yet he would not give over, nor deſpiſe the Relicks of the *Civil War* there, till he had ſeen all things compoſed: But then aſſoon as that was done, and the State ſetled, inſtantly he advanced in his Expedition againſt the *Parthians.*

He was, no doubt, of a very noble Mind; but yet ſuch as aimed more at his *particular Advancement*, than at any *Merits* for the *Common Good.* For he referred all things to *Himſelf*; and was the true and perfect *Centre* of all his Actions. By which means, being ſo faſt tied to his Ends, he was ſtill proſperous, and prevailed in his Purpoſes; Inſomuch, that neither *Country*, nor *Religion*, nor good *Turns* done him, nor

Kindred,

Kindred, nor *Friendſhip* diverted his Appetite, nor bridled him from purſuing his own Ends. Neither was he much inclined to *works* of *Perpetuity*: For he eſtabliſhed nothing for the future; He founded no ſumptuous *Buildings*; He procured to be enacted no wholſome *Laws*, but ſtill minded himſelf: And ſo his thoughts were confined within the Circle of his own Life. He ſought indeed after *Fame* and *Reputation*, becauſe he thought they might be profitable to his Deſigns: Otherwiſe, in his inward thoughts be propounded to himſelf rather *Abſoluteneſs* of *Power*, than *Honour* and *Fame*. For as for *Honour* and *Fame*, he purſued not after them for themſelves; but becauſe they were the Inſtruments of *Power* and *Greatneſs*. And therefore he was carried on through a Natural Inclination, not by any Rules that he had learned, to effect the ſole *Regiment*; and rather to *enjoy* the ſame than to *ſeem worthy* of it. And by this means he won much Reputation amongſt the *People*, who are no valuers of true Worth: But amongſt the *Nobility* and great Men, who were tender of their own Honours, it procured him no more than this, that he incurred the Brand of an *Ambitious* and *Daring Man*.

Neither did they much err from the Truth who thought him ſo; for he was by Nature exceeding *bold*; and never did put on any ſhew of *Modeſty*, except it were for ſome purpoſes. Yet notwithſtanding, he ſo attempted his *Boldneſs*, that it neither impeached him of Raſhneſs; nor was burthenſome to Men; nor rendred his Nature ſuſpected, but was conceived to flow out of an Innate Sincerity and freeneſs of Behaviour, and the *Nobility* of his *Birth*: And in all other things he paſſed, not for a *Crafty* and *Deceitful* Perſon, but for an *open hearted* and *plain-dealing* Man. And whereas he was indeed an *Arch-Politician*, that could counterfeit and diſſemble ſufficiently well; and was wholly compounded of *Frauds* and *Deceits*, ſo that there was nothing *ſincere* in him, but all *artificial*; yet he

covered, and diſguiſed himſelf ſo, that no ſuch Vices, appeared to the Eyes of the World; but he was generally reputed to proceed plainly and uprightly with all Men. Howbeit, he did not ſtoop to any petty and mean *Artifices*, as they do, which are ignorant in State Employments; and depend not ſo much upon the ſtrength of their own Wits, as upon the Counſels and Brains of others, to ſupport their Authority; for he was skilled in the Turnings of all Humane Affairs; and tranſacted all Matters, eſpecially thoſe of high Conſequence by himſelf, and not by others.

He was ſingularly skilful to avoid *Envy*; and found it not impertinent to his Ends, to decline that, though it were with ſome diminution of his *Dignity*. For aiming at a *Real Power*, he was content to paſs by all vain Pomp and outward ſhews of Power throughout his whole Life; Till at the laſt, whether high-flown with the continual *Exerciſe* of *Power*, or corrupted with *Flatteries*, he affected the *Enſigns* of *Power*, (the *Stile* and *Diadem* of a *King*,) which was the Bait that wrought his Overthrow.

This is true, that he harboured the thoughts of a *Kingdom* from his very youth: And hereunto the *Example* of *Sylla*, and the *Kindred* of *Marius*, and his *Emulation* of *Pompey*, and the *Corruption* and *Ambition* of the *Times*, did prick him forward: But then he paved his way to a *Kingdom*, after a wonderful and ſtrange manner. As firſt, by a *Popular* and *Seditious* Power; afterwards by a *Military Power*, and that of a *General in War*. For there was required to effect his Ends; Firſt, That he ſhould break the *Power* and *Authority* of the *Senate*; which, as long as it ſtood firm, was adverſe, and an hindrance, that no Man could climb to *Soveraignty* and *Imperial Command*. Then the *Power* of *Craſſus* and *Pompey* was to be ſubdued and quelled, which could not be done otherwiſe, than by *Arms*. And therefore (as the moſt *Cunning Contriver* of his own *Fortune*) he laid his firſt Foundation by *Bribes*;

By

By corrupting the *Courts* of *Juſtice*, by renewing the *memory* of *Caius Marius*, and his party; For moſt of the *Senators* and *Nobility* were of *Sylla's Faction*: by the *Law* of *diſtributing* the *Fields* amongſt the *Common People*: by the *Sedition* of the *Tribunes*, where he was the *Author*: by the *madneſs* and *fury* of *Catiline*, and the *Conſpirators*, unto which Action he ſecretly blew the *Coals!* By the *Baniſhment* of *Cicero*, which was the greateſt Blow, to the *Authority* of the *Senate*, as might be; and ſeveral other the like *Arts*: But moſt of all by the *Conjunction* of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, both betwixt themſelves, and with him; which was the thing that finiſhed the work.

Having accompliſht this part, he betook himſelf to the other; which was to *make uſe* of, and to *enjoy* his *power*. For being made *Proconſul* of *France* for five years; and afterwards continuing it for five years more; he furniſhed himſelf with *Arms* and *Legions*, and the power of a Warlike and Opulent *Province*; as was formidable to *Italy*.

Neither was he ignorant, that after he had ſtrengthned himſelf with *Arms* and a *Military Power*, neither *Craſſus* nor *Pompey* could ever be able to bear up againſt him; whereof the one truſted to his great Riches, the other to his Fame and Reputation; the one decayed through Age, the other in Power and Authority: And neither of them were grounded upon true and laſting Foundations. And the rather, for that he had obliged all the *Senators* and *Magiſtrates*: And in a word, all thoſe that had any power in the *Common-wealth*, ſo firmly to himſelf, with private benefits, that he was fearleſs of any Combination or Oppoſition againſt his Deſigns, till he had openly invaded the *Imperial Power*.

Which things, though he always bare in his Mind, and at the laſt acted it, yet he did not lay down his former perſon; but coloured things ſo, that what with the reaſonableneſs of his Demands, what with

his pretences of Peace, and what with the moderate uſe of his Succeſſes, he turned all the *Envy* of the *Adverſe Party*, and ſeemed to take up *Arms* upon neceſſity for his own preſervation and ſafety. But the falſeneſs of this pretence manifeſtly appeared; inaſmuch as ſoon after having obtained the *Regal Power*, all *Civil War* being appeaſed, and all his *Rivals* and *Oppoſites*, which might put him to any fear, being removed out of the way by the ſtroke of *Death*; notwithſtanding he never thought of *reſigning* the *Republick*; no, nor ever made any ſhew or offer of *reſigning* the ſame. Which ſhewed plainly, that his ambition of being a *King* was ſetled in him, and remained with him unto his laſt breath. For he did not lay hold upon occaſions, as they hapned, but moulded and formed the occaſions, as himſelf pleaſed.

His chief *Abilities* conſiſted in *Martial Knowledge*; in which he ſo excelled, that he could not only *lead* an Army, but *mould* an Army to his own liking. For he was not more skilful in managing Affairs, than in *winning* of Hearts. Neither did he affect this by any ordinary Diſcipline, as by inuring them to fulfil all his commands; or by ſtriking a ſhame into them to diſobey, or by carrying a ſevere Hand over them: But by ſuch a way as did wonderfully ſtir up an alacrity and chearfulneſs in them: and did in a ſort aſſure him of the Victory aforehand, and which did oblige the Soldier to him, more than was fit for a *Free Eſtate*. Now whereas he was verſed in all kinds of *Martial Knowledge*, and joyned *Civil Arts* with the *Arts* of *War*; nothing came ſo ſuddenly, or ſo unlookt for upon him, for which he had not a remedy at hand: And nothing was ſo averſe, but that he could pick ſomething for his Turn and Benefit out of it.

He ſtood ſufficiently upon his *State* and *Greatneſs*. For in great Battels, he would ſit at home in the *Head Quarter*, and manage all Things by *Meſſages*, which wrought him a double benefit. Firſt, that it ſecured

his

his *Perſon* more, and expoſed him the leſs to *Danger*. Secondly, that if at any time his *Army* was worſted, he could put new ſpirit into them with his own preſence, and the *Addition* of *freſh Forces*, and turn the *Fortune* of the *Day*. In the conducting of his *Wars*, he would not only follow former *Precedents*, but he was able to deviſe and purſue new *Stratagems*, according as the accidents and occaſions required.

He was conſtant, and ſingularly kind, and indulgent in his *Friendſhips* contracted. Notwithſtanding, he made choiſe of ſuch Friends, as a Man might eaſily ſee, that he choſe them rather to be *Inſtruments* to his *Ends*, than for any *Good will* towards them. And whereas, by Nature, and out of a firm Reſolution, he adhered to this Principle; not to be eminent amongſt *Great* and *deſerving* Men; but to be chief amongſt *Inferiours* and *Vaſſals*: he choſe only mean and active Men, and ſuch as to whom himſelf might be all in all. And hereupon grew that ſaying; *So let* Cæſar *live, though I die*; and other Speeches of that kind. As for the *Nobility*, and thoſe that were his *Peers*, he contracted Friendſhip, with ſuch of them as might be uſeful to him; and admitted none to his *Cabinet Council*, but thoſe that had their Fortunes wholly depending upon him.

He was moderately furniſhed with good *Literature*, and the *Arts*; But in ſuch ſort as he applied his skill therein to *Civil Policy*. For he was well read in *Hiſtory*: and was expert in *Rhetorick*, and the *Art of ſpeaking*. And becauſe he attributed much to his good *Stars*, he would pretend more than an ordinary Knowledge in *Aſtronomy*. As for *Eloquence*, and a prompt *Elocution*, that was *Natural* to him, and *pure*.

He was diſſolute, and propenſe to *Voluptuouſneſs* and *Pleaſures*; which ſerved well at firſt for a Cover to his *Ambition*. For no Man would imagine, that a Man ſo looſely given could harbour any Ambitious and Vaſt Thoughts in his Heart. Notwithſtanding, he ſo go-

verned his *Pleaſures*, that they were no hindrance, either to his profit, or to his buſineſs: And they did rather whet, than dull the vigour of his Mind. He was *Temperate* at his *Meals*; *free from Niceneſs* and *Curioſity* in his *Luſts*; pleaſant and *Magnificent* at *publick Interludes.*

Thus being accompliſhed, the ſame thing was the Means of his *down-fall* at laſt; which in his Beginnings was a ſtep to his *Riſe*, I mean his *Affectation* of *Popularity*: For nothing is more *popular*, than to *forgive our Enemies.* Through which, either *Vertue* or *Cunning*, he loſt his Life.

LXI.

A Civil Character of Auguſtus Cæſar.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, (if ever any *Mortal Man*) was endued with a *greatneſs* of *Mind*, *undiſturbed with Paſſions*, *clear* and well *ordered*; which is evidenced by the High Atchievements which he performed in his early youth. For thoſe perſons which are of a turbulent Nature or Appetite, do commonly paſs their youth in many *Errors*; and about their middle, and then, and not before, they ſhew forth their *Perfections*; but thoſe that are of a ſedate and calm Nature, may be ripe for great and glorious Actions in their youth. And whereas the *Faculties* of the *Mind*, no leſs than the *Parts* and *Members* of the *Body*, do conſiſt and flouriſh in a good temper of *Health*, and *Beauty*, and *Strength*; So he was in the *ſtrength* of the *Mind*, inferior to his Unkle *Julius*; but in the *Health* and *Beauty* of the *Mind*, ſuperior. For *Julius* being of an unquiet and uncompoſed Spirit, (as thoſe, who are troubled with the *Falling-Sickneſs* for the moſt part are,) notwithſtanding he carried on his own ends with much Moderation and Diſcretion; but he did not or-

der

der his ends well, propounding to himſelf, vaſt and high Deſigns, above the Reach of a *Mortal Man.* But *Auguſtus*, as a Man ſober, and mindful of his *Mortality*, ſeemed to propound no other ends to himſelf, than ſuch as were orderly and well weighed, and governed by *Reaſon.* For firſt he was deſirous indeed to have the *Rule* and *Principality* in his hands; then he ſought to appear worthy of that *Power* which he ſhould acquire: Next, to *enjoy* an *High Place*, he accounted but a *Tranſitory Thing*: Laſtly, He endeavoured to do ſuch *Actions*, as might continue his *memory*, and leave an *Impreſſion* of his *good Government* to *After Ages.* And therefore, in the *beginning* of his *Age*, he affected *Power*; in the *middle* of his *Age*, *Honour*, and *Dignity*; in the *decline* of his *years*, *Eaſe* and *Pleaſure*; and in the *end* of his *Life*, he was wholly bent to *Memory* and *Poſterity.*

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FINIS.

OF THE
COLOURS
OF
GOOD and EVIL,

A Fragment.

IN Deliberatives, the Point is, what is Good, and what is Evil; and of Good what is greater; and of Evil what is leſs.

So that the Perſwader's Labour, is to make things appear Good or Evil, and that in an higher or lower Degree; which as it may be performed by true and ſolid Reaſons, ſo it may be repreſented alſo by Colours, Popularities, and Circumſtances, which are of ſuch force, as they ſway the ordinary Judgment either of a weak Man, or of a wiſe Man, not fully and conſiderately attending and pondering the matter. Beſides their power to alter the nature of the Subject in appearance, and ſo to lead to Error, they are of no leſs uſe to quicken and ſtrengthen the Opinions and Perſwaſions which are true: for Reaſons plainly delivered, and always after one manner, eſpecially with Fine and Faſtidious Minds, enter but heavily and dully; whereas if they be varied, and have more Life and Vigour put into them by theſe Forms and Inſinuations, they cauſe a ſtronger Apprehenſion, and many times ſuddenly win the mind to a Reſolution. Laſtly, To make a true and ſafe Judgment, nothing can be of greater Uſe and Defence to the Mind, than the Diſcovering and Reprehenſion of theſe Colours, ſhewing in what Caſes they hold, and in what they deceive; which, as it cannot be done, but out of a very univerſal knowledge of the Nature of things; ſo being performed, it ſo cleareth Man's Judgment and Election, as it is the leſs apt to ſlide into any Error.

Capita

Capita Sectionum, quæ in *Boni Malique* Colorum Tabula continentur.

1. *Cui cæteræ Partes, vel Sectæ, secundas unanimiter deferunt, cum singulæ principatum sibi vendicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.*

2. *Cujus excellentia, vel exuperantia Melior; id toto genere Melius.*

3. *Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus est, quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc est:* Quod quis, si clam putaret forte, facturus non esset.

4. *Quod rem integram servat, Bonum: Quod sine receptu est, Malum; Nam se recipere non posse, impotentiæ genus est; potentia autem Bonum.*

5. *Quod ex pluribus constat, & divisibilibus, est Majus, quam quod ex paucioribus, & Magis Unum: Nam omnia, per partes considerata, majora videntur; quare & pluralitas partium Magnitudinem præ se fert. Fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium, si Ordo absit; Nam inducit similitudinem Infiniti, & impedit comprehensionem.*

6. *Cujus privatio bona, Malum: Cujus privatio mala, Bonum.*

7. *Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: Quod à Bono remotum, Malum.*

8. *Quod quis culpa sua contraxit, Majus Malum: Quod ab externis imponitur, Minus Malum.*

9. *Quod*

9. *Quod opera & virtute noſtra partum eſt, Majus Bonum: Quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortunæ, delatum eſt, Minus Bonum.*

10. *Gradus Privationis major videtur, quam gradus Diminutionis; & rurſus gradus Inceptionis major videtur, quam gradus Incrementi.*

11. *Quod laudant homines & celebrant, bonum; quod vituperant & reprehendunt, malum.*

12. *Quod etiam ab inimicis laudatur, magnum Bonum; quod verò ab amicis reprehenditur, magnum Malum.*

The

The Heads *of the* Sections *of the* Table *of the* Colours *of* Good *and* Evil, *rendred into* Englisſh, *are as follow.*

1. *SInce all Parties, or Sects, challenge the preheminence of the Firſt Place to themſelves; that, to which all the reſt with one conſent give the Second Place, ſeems to be better than the others. For every one ſeems to take the Firſt Place out of Zeal to it ſelf; but to give the Second where it is really due.*

2. *That kind is* altogether beſt, *whoſe Excellence, or Preheminence is beſt.*

3. *That, which hath a relation to* Truth, *is* Greater *than that which refers to* Opinion. *But the Meaſure, and Tryal of that, which belongs to* Opinion, *is this:* It is that which a Man would not do, if he thought it would not be known.

4. *That, which keeps a matter ſafe and entire, is* Good; *but what is deſtitute and unprovided of Retreat is* Bad. *For whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones ſelf, is a kind of Impotency.*

5. *That which conſiſts of more Parts, and thoſe* Diviſible, *is* Greater, *and* more one, *than what is made up of* Fewer: *For all things when they are looked upon* piece-meal, *ſeem* Greater; *when alſo a Plurality of Parts make a ſhew of a Bulk conſiderable: Which a Plurality of Parts effects more ſtrongly, if they be in no certain* Order; *for it then reſembles an* Infinity, *and hinders the comprehending of them.*

6. *That,*

6. *That, whoſe Privation* (or, *the Want of which*) *is* Good, *is in it ſelf* Evil: *that, whoſe Privation* (or *the Want whereof*) *is an* Evil, *is in it ſelf* Good.

7. *What is near to Good, is* Good; *what is at diſtance from Good, is* Evil.

8. *That, which a Man hath procured by his own Default, is a* Greater Miſchief (*or* Evil:) *that, which is laid on him by others, is a* Leſſer Evil.

9. *That, which is gotten by our own Pains and Induſtry, is a* greater Good: *that, which comes by another Man's Courteſie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a* leſſer Good.

10. *The Degree of* Privation *ſeems Greater than the Degree of Diminution: And again, the Degree of* Inception (*or Beginning*) *ſeems greater than the Degree of* Increaſe.

11. *That, which Men commend and celebrate, is good; that, which they diſpraiſe and reprehend, is evil.*

12. *That, which draws commendation even from Enemies, is a great Good; but that, which is reprehended even by Friends, is a great Evil.*

A Table of the *Colours* (or *Appearances*) of *Good* and *Evil*; and their *Degrees*, as *Places* of *Perſwaſion*, and *Diſſwaſion*, and their ſeveral *Fallaxes*, and the *Elenchs* of them.

1. *CUI cæteræ Partes, vel Sectæ, ſecundas unanimiter deferunt, cum ſingulæ principatum ſibi vendicent, Melior reliquis videtur. Nam primas quæque ex zelo videtur ſumere; ſecundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.* That is,

Since all Parties, or Sects, challenge the Preheminence of the *firſt* Place to themſelves; that, to which all the reſt with one conſent give the *ſecond* Place, ſeems to be better than the others. For every one ſeems to take the *firſt* Place out of zeal to it ſelf, but to give the *ſecond* where it is really due.

SO *Cicero* went about to prove the Sect of *Academicks*, which ſuſpended all *Aſſeveration*, for to be the *beſt*. *For, ſaith he, ask a* Stoick, *which* Philoſophy *is true, he will prefer his own: then ask him, which approacheth* (*next*) *the Truth, he will confeſs, the* Academicks. *So deal with the* Epicure, *that will ſcant endure the* Stoick *to be in ſight of him; ſo ſoon as he hath placed* himſelf, *he will place the* Academicks *next him.*

So if a Prince took divers Competitors to a place, and examined them ſeverally, whom next themſelves they would chiefly commend; it were like the *ableſt* man ſhould have the moſt *ſecond* Voices.

The *Fallax* of this *Colour* happeneth oft in reſpect of *Envy*; for men are accuſtomed, after *themſelves*, and their own *faſhion*, to incline unto them which are ſoſ-

teſt, and are *leaſt in their way*, in deſpight and derogation of them, that hold them *hardeſt* to it. So that this Colour of *Meliority* and *Preheminence* is a ſign of Enervation and Weakneſs.

2. *Cujus excellentia, vel exuperantia Melior; id toto genere Melius.* That is,

That kind is altogether *beſt*, whoſe Excellence, or Preheminence is beſt.

APpertaining to this are the Forms: *Let us not wander in generalities. Let us compare particular with particular*, &c. This *appearance*, though it ſeem of ſtrength, rather *Logical* than *Rhetorical*, yet is very oft a *Fallax*.

Sometimes; becauſe ſome things are in kind very *caſual*; which if they eſcape, prove *excellent*: ſo that the *kind* is inferior, becauſe it is ſo ſubject to peril; but that, which is excellent, being proved, is ſuperior. As the Bloſſom of *March*, and the Bloſſom of *May*, whereof the *French* Verſe goeth:

Burgeon de Mars, enfans de Paris,
Si un eſchape, bien vaut dix.

So that the Bloſſom of *May* is generally better than the Bloſſom of *March*; and yet the beſt Bloſſom of *March* is better than the beſt Bloſſom of *May*.

Sometimes, becauſe the nature of ſome *kinds* is to be more *equal*, and more *indifferent*, and not to have very diſtant Degrees; as hath been noted in the *warmer Climates*, the people are *generally* more wiſe, but in the *Northern Climate*, the Wits of *chief* are greater. So in many Armies, if the matter ſhould be tryed by *Duel* between *two Champions*, the Victory ſhould go on the *one* ſide; and yet, if it were tryed by the *groſs*, it would go on the *other* ſide. For *Excellencies* go as it were

were by *chance*, but *kinds* go by a *more certain Nature* as by *Diſcipline* in War.

Laſtly, Many *kinds* have much *refuſe*, which countervail that which they have *excellent*; and therefore generally *Metal* is more precious than *Stone*, and yet a *Diamond* is more precious than Gold.

3. *Quod ad Veritatem refertur, Majus eſt, quam quod ad Opinionem. Modus autem & probatio ejus, quod ad Opinionem pertinet, hæc eſt:* Quod quis, ſi clam putaret fore, facturus non eſſet. That is,

That which hath relation to *Truth*, is *greater* than that which refers to *Opinion*. But the Meaſure, and Tryal of that, which belongs to *Opinion*, is this: *It is that which a Man would not do, if he thought it would not be known.*

SO the *Epicures* ſay to the *Stoicks Felicity* placed in *Vertue*; that it is like the felicity of a *Player*, who, if he were left of his *Auditors*, and their *Applauſe*, would ſtreight be out of Heart and Countenance; and therefore they call *Vertue*, *bonum theatrale*; that is, *a Stage good*. But of *Riches* the *Poet* ſaith,

Populus me ſibulat,
At mihi plaudo: i. e.

Me People hiſs *abroad,*
But I my ſelf applaud.

And of *Pleaſure*,

——— *Grata ſub imo*
Gaudia corde premens, vultu ſimulato Pudorem: i. e.

"Your welcome Joys *within* let ſtifled lie,
"But counterfeit *abroad* a Modeſty.

The *Fallax* of this *Colour* is ſomewhat ſubtil, though the Anſwer to the Example be ready: For *Vertue* is not choſen *propter auram popularem*, for the applauſe of *People*; but contrariwiſe, *Maximè omnium teipſum revere-re*, a Man ought to ſtand moſt in awe of himſelf; ſo as a *Vertuous* Man will be Vertuous *in ſolitudine*, in a *Deſart*, and not only *in theatro*, upon the *Stage*: though percaſe it will be more ſtrong by *Glory* and *Fame*, as an *Heat*, which is doubled by *Reflection*. But that denieth the *Suppoſition*, it doth not reprehend the *Fallax*, whereof the *Reprehenſion* is a Law, that *Vertue* (ſuch as is joyned with Labour and Conflict) would not be choſen, but for *Fame* and *Opinion*; yet it followeth not, that the *chief Motive* of the Election ſhould not be *real*, and for *it ſelf*; for *Fame* may be only *cauſa impulſiva*, the *impelling* or *urging* Cauſe, and not *cauſa conſtituens*, or *efficiens*, the *conſtituting*, or *efficient* Cauſe. As if there were two *Horſes*, and the one would do better *without the Spur* than the other: but again, the other *with the Spur* would far exceed the doing of the former, giving him the *Spur* alſo; yet the latter will be judged to be the *better Horſe*: and the *Form*, as to ſay, *Tuſh, the Life of this Horſe is but in the Spur*, will not ſerve as to a *wiſe* Judgment: for, ſince the *ordinary Inſtrument* of Horſmanſhip is the *Spur*, and that it is no matter of *Impediment* or *Burthen*, the *Horſe* is not to be accounted the leſs of, which will not do well *without the Spur*, but the other is to be reckoned rather a *Delicacy*, than a *Vertue*. So *Glory* and *Honour* are the *Spurs* to *Vertue*: and, although *Vertue* would *languiſh* without them, yet ſince they be always at hand to attend *Vertue*, Vertue is not ſaid to be the leſs choſen *for it ſelf*, becauſe it needed the *Spur* of *Fame* and *Reputation*. And therefore that Poſition, *Nota ejus rei quod propter Opinionem, & non propter veritatem eligitur hæc eſt; Quod quis, ſi clam putaret fore, facturus non eſſet* (*That is, That* the Mark of a Thing choſen for Opinion, and not for Truth-ſake; is this, That one would

not do it, if he thought it would not be known,) is reprehended.

4. *Quod rem integram ſervat, Bonum: quod ſine receptu eſt, Malum. Nam ſe recipere non poſſe, impotentiæ genus eſt: potentia autem Bonum:* That is,

That, which keeps a matter ſafe and entire, is *Good:* but what is deſtitute, and unprovided of a retreat, is *bad.* For, whereas all Ability of Acting is Good, not to be able to withdraw ones ſelf, is a kind of Impotency.

HEreof *Æſop* framed the *Fable* of the *two Frogs*, that conſulted together in the time of *drought*, (when many *Plaſhes* that they had repaired to were *dry*,) what was to be done: and the *one* propounded to go down into a deep *Well*, becauſe it was like the *Water* would not *fail* there; but the *other* anſwered, *Yea, but if it do fail, how ſhall we get up again?* And the *Reaſon* is, that *Humane Actions* are ſo *uncertain*, and ſubject to *perils*, as that ſeemeth the *beſt* courſe, which had moſt *paſſages* out of it. Appertaining to this Perſwaſion, the *Forms* are, *You ſhall engage your ſelf:* on the other ſide, *Tantum, quantum voles, ſumes ex fortuna*, i. e. Take what Lot you will; *or, you ſhall keep the matter in your own Hand.* The *reprehenſion* of it is, that *preceeding and reſolving in all actions is neceſſary.* For, as he ſaith well, *Not to reſolve, is to reſolve*; and many times it breeds as many *neceſſities*, and engageth as far in ſome other ſort, as to reſolve. So it is but the *covetous* Man's Diſeaſe tranſlated in *power*; for the *covetous* Man will *enjoy nothing*, becauſe he will have his *full ſtore*, and *poſſibility* to enjoy the more; ſo, by *this* Reaſon, a Man ſhould *execute nothing*, becauſe he ſhould be ſtill *indifferent*, and *at liberty* to execute any thing. Beſides *Neceſſity* and this ſame *Facta eſt alea*, or, once having *caſt the Dice*, hath many times an advantage;

becauſe it awaketh the *powers of* the mind, and ſtrengthneth endeavour, (*Cæteris pares, neceſſitate certè ſuperiores iſtis :*) which are able to *deal with* any others, but *maſter* theſe upon *neceſſity*.

5. *Quod ex pluribus conſtat, & diviſibilibus, eſt majus, quam quod ex paucioribus, & magis Unum : nam omnia, per partes conſiderata, majora videntur ; quare & pluralitas partium Magnitudinem præ ſe fert. Fortius autem operatur Pluralitas partium, ſi Ordo abſit : nam inducit ſimilitudinem Infiniti, & impedit comprehenſionem* ; That is,

That, which conſiſts of more parts, and thoſe *Diviſible*, is *greater*, and *more One*, than what is made up of *fewer* ; for all things, when they are looked upon *piece-meal*, ſeem *greater* ; whence alſo a purality of Parts make ſhew of a Bulk conſiderable, which a Plurality of Parts effects more ſtrongly, if they be in no certain *Order* ; for it then reſembles an *Infinity*, and hinders the comprehending of them.

THIS *Colour* ſeemeth palpable, for it is not *Plurality* of *Parts*, without *Majority* of *Parts*, that maketh the *total* greater ; yet nevertheleſs, it often carries the *mind* away ; yea, it deceiveth the *ſenſe* ; as it ſeemeth to the *Eye* a ſhorter diſtance of *way*, if it be all *dead* and *continued*, than if it have *Trees*, or *Buildings*, or any other *marks*, whereby the *Eye* may divide it. So when a *great-monied* man hath divided his *Cheſts*, and *Coyns*, and *Bags*, he ſeemeth to himſelf richer than he was. And therefore the way to *amplifie* any thing is to *break* it, and to make *Anatomy* of it in *ſeveral parts*, and to examine it according to *ſeveral circumſtances*. And this maketh the greater ſhew, if it be done *without Order* ; for *confuſion* maketh things *muſter* more. And beſides, what is ſet down by *Order* and *Diviſion*, doth demonſtrate, that nothing is *left out* or *omitted* ; but all is there : whereas, if

if it be *without Order*, both the mind *comprehendeth* leſs that which is ſet down, and beſides it leaveth a ſuſpicion, as if *more* might be *ſaid* than is *expreſſed*.

This *Colour* deceiveth, if the mind of him that is to be perſwaded, do of it ſelf *overconceive* or *prejudge* of the *greatneſs* of any thing; for then the *breaking* of it will make it ſeem *leſs*, becauſe it makes it to appear more according to the *Truth*. And therefore, if a Man be in *Sickneſs* or Pain, the time will ſeem longer *without a Clock*, or *Hourglaſs*, than *with* it: for the mind doth *value every moment*; and then the *Hour* doth rather *ſum up* the *moments* than *divide* the *Day*. So in a *dead Plain* the *way* ſeemeth the *longer*, becauſe the *Eye* hath pre-conceived it *ſhorter*, than the truth: and the *fruſtrating* of that maketh it ſeem *longer* than the truth. Therefore, if any Man have an *over-great Opinion* of any thing, then if another think, by *breaking* it into *ſeveral Conſiderations*, he ſhall make it ſeem *greater* to him, he will be *deceived*. And therefore, in ſuch *Caſes*, it is not ſafe to *divide*, but to *extol* the *Entire* ſtill *in general*.

Another *Caſe*, wherein this *Colour* deceiveth, is, when the matter *broken*, or *divided*, is not *comprehended* by the ſence, or *made at once* in reſpect of the *diſtracting* or *ſcattering* of it: and being *entire*, and not *divided*, is *comprehended*. As an *Hundred Pounds* in Heaps of *five Pounds* will ſhew *more* than in one groſs Heap: ſo as the Heaps be all upon *one Table* to be ſeen at once, otherwiſe not. As *Flowers*, growing ſcattered in *divers* Beds, will ſhew *more*, than if they did grow in *one* Bed: ſo as all thoſe *Beds* be within a *Plot*, that they be object to view *at once*; otherwiſe not. And therefore *men*, whoſe Living lyeth *together in one Shire*, are commonly counted *greater landed*, than thoſe, whoſe Livings are *diſperſed*, though it be *more*; becauſe of the *notice* and *comprehenſion*.

A third *Caſe*, wherein this *Colour* deceiveth, which is not ſo properly a *Caſe* or *Reprehenſion*, as it is a *counter Colour*, being in effect as *large* as the *Colour* it ſelf is,

Omnis compoſitio indigentiæ cujuſdam videtur eſſe particeps. That every Compoſition ſeems to partake of a certain want; becauſe, if *one* thing would ſerve the turn, it were ever *beſt*; but it is the *Defect* and *Imperfection* of things that hath brought in that help to *piece* them *up*: as it is ſaid, * *Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum ſufficit*: *that is*, Martha, Martha, thou art troubled about many things; one thing is ſufficient. So likewiſe hereupon *Æſop* framed the *Fable* of the *Fox* and the *Cat*: wherein the *Fox* bragged, what a *number* of *ſhifts* and *devices* he had, to get from the *Hounds*; and the *Cat* ſaid, He had but *one*, which was to *climb* a *Tree*; which in proof was *better worth* than all the reſt; whereof the *Proverb* grew,

* Luke 10.41,42.

Multa novit Vulpes, ſed Felis unum magnum.

Reynard the Hounds to ſcape had ſhifts not ſmall,
Grimalkin only one, as good as all.

And in the *Moral* of this *Fable*, it comes likewiſe to paſs, That *a good ſure Friend is a better help at a pinch, than all the Stratagems and Policies of Man's own wit.* So it falleth out to be a *common Error* in *Negotiating*; whereas Men have *many* Reaſons to *induce* or *perſwade*, they ſtrive commonly to utter, and uſe them *all at once*, which *weakeneth* them. For it argueth, as was ſaid, a *needineſs* in every of the *Reaſons* by it ſelf, as if one did not truſt to *any* of them, but fled from *one* to *another*, helping himſelf only with *that*.

Et quæ non proſunt ſingula, multa juvant.

And what help'd not *alone* before,
Doth help full well, when joyn'd with *more*.

Indeed,

Indeed, in a *ſet Speech* in an *Aſſembly*, it is expected, a Man ſhould uſe *all* his *Reaſons* in the *Caſe* he handleth: but in *private perſwaſions* it is always a *great Error*.

A fourth *Caſe*, wherein this *Colour* may be *reprehended* is in reſpect of that ſame *vis unita fortior*, the acknowledged *ſtrength* of an *united Power*; according to the *Tale* of the *FRENCH King*, who, when the *Emperor's Embaſſador* had recited his *Maſter's Style* at large, which conſiſteth of *many Countries*, and *Dominions*, the *FRENCH KING* willed his *Chancellor*, or other *Miniſter*, to repeat over *FRANCE* as many times as the other had recited the ſeveral *Dominions*; intending, it was *equivalent* with them *all*, and more *compacted* and *united*.

There is alſo appertaining to this *Colour* another *Point*, why *breaking* of a thing doth help it; not by way of adding a ſhew of *Magnitude* unto it, but a note of *Excellency* and *Rarity*: whereof the *Forms* are, *Where you ſhall find ſuch a Concurrence? Great, but not compleat:* for it ſeems a leſs work of *Nature* or *Fortune*, to make any thing in his kind *greater than ordinary*, than to make a *ſtrange* Compoſition. Yet, if it be *narrowly* conſidered, this *Colour* will be *reprehended*, or *encountred*, by imputing to *all Excellencies* in *Compoſitions* a kind of *Poverty*, or (at leaſt) a *Caſuality*, or *Jeopardy*: for from that, which is excellent in *greatneſs*, ſomewhat may be *taken*, or there may be a *decay*, and yet *ſufficient* left; but from that which hath his price in *Compoſition*, if you *take away* any thing, or any part do *fail*, all is *Diſgrace*.

6. *Cujus Privatio bona, Malum: cujus Privatio mala, Bonum.* That is,

That, whoſe Privation (*or*, the want of which) is Good, is in it ſelf *Evil:* that whoſe Privation (*or*, the want thereof) is an Evil, is in it ſelf *Good.*

THE *Forms* to make it conceived, that that was *Evil*, which is changed for the *better*, are, *He that is in Hell thinks there is no Heaven. Satis quercus*; *Acorns were good, till Bread was found*, &c. And on the other ſide, the *forms* to make it conceived, that that was *good*, which was changed for the *worſe*, are; *Bona magis carendo quam fruendo ſentimus: That is*, we underſtand the Goodneſs of things more by wanting, than enjoying them. *Bona à tergo formoſiſſima*: i. e. *Good things never appear in their full Beauty, till they turn their back, and be going away*, &c.

The *Reprehenſion* of this *Colour* is, That the *Good* or *Evil* which is *removed*, may be eſteemed *Good* or *Evil comparatively*; and not *poſitively* or *ſimply*. So that if the *Privation* be *Good*, it follows not, that the *former* condition was *Evil*, but *leſs Good*: For the *Flower* or *Bloſſom* is a *poſitive* Good; although the *remove* of it, to give place to the *Fruit*, be a *comparative* Good. So in the *Tale* of *Æſop*, when the *old fainting* man in the *heat* of the day caſt down his *Burthen*, and called for *Death*; and when *Death* came to know his *will* with him, ſaid, *It was for nothing, but to help him up with his burthen again*: It doth not follow, that becauſe *Death*, which was the *privation* of the *Burthen*, was *ill*, therefore the *Burthen* was *good*. And in this part the ordinary *Form* of *Malum Neceſſarium*, a neceſſary Evil, aptly *reprehended* this *Colour*: For *privatio mali neceſſarii eſt mala*, the privation of a neceſſary Evil is Evil; and yet that doth not convert the *Nature* of the *neceſſary Evil*, but it is *Evil.*

Again it cometh ſometimes to paſs, that there is an *equality* in the change of *privation*, and (as it were) a

Dilemma

Dilemma boni, of the *good*; or, *Dilemma mali*, of the *Evil*; ſo that the * *corruption* of *one Good* is a *Generation* of the *other*.

* *Corruptio unius eſt generatio alterius.*

Sorti pater æquus utrique eſt:

Both *Chances* the ſame *equal Parent* have:

And contrarily, the *remedy* of the *one* Evil, is the *occaſion* and *commencement* of *another*; as in *Scylla* and *Charybdis*.

7. *Quod Bono vicinum, Bonum: quod à Bono remotum, Malum.* That is,

What is near to Good, is *Good:* What is at diſtance from Good, is *Evil.*

SUCH is the *Nature* of things, that things *contrary*, and *diſtant* in *nature* and *quality*; and alſo *ſevered* and *disjoyned* in *Place*; and things *like*, and *conſenting* in *quality*, are *placed*, and (as it were) *quartered together*: For partly, in regard of the *Nature*, to *ſpread*, *multiply*, and *infect* in ſimilitude; and partly, in regard of the *Nature* to *break*, *expel*, and *alter* that which is *diſagreeable* and *contrary*, moſt things do either *aſſociate*, and *draw near* to themſelves the *like*, or (at leaſt) *aſſimilate* to themſelves that which *approacheth near* them, and do alſo *drive away*, *chaſe*, and *exterminate* their *contraries*. And that is the *reaſon* commonly yielded, why the *middle Region* of the *Air* ſhould be *coldeſt*; becauſe the *Sun* and *Stars* are either *hot* by *Direct Beams*, or by *reflection*. The *direct Beams* heat the *upper Region*; the *reflected Beams* from the *Earth* and *Seas*, heat the *lower Region*. That which is in the *midſt*, being farther diſtant in *place* from theſe *two Regions* of *heat*, is moſt diſtant in *Nature*, that is *coldeſt*, which is that they term *cold*, or

hot,

hot, per * *Antiperiſtaſin*, that is, *environing* by *contraries*: which was pleaſantly taken hold of by him, who ſaid, that *an* honeſt man *in theſe days muſt needs be* more honeſt *than in Ages heretofore*, propter Antiperiſtaſin, *becauſe the ſhutting of him in the midſt of Contraries muſt needs make the* honeſter *ſtronger, and more compact in it ſelf.*

* *Antiperiſtaſis* is a *Philoſophical* Term, ſignifying *a repulſion on every part, whereby either Heat or Cold is made more ſtrong in it ſelf, by the reſtraining of the contrary.*

The *Reprehenſion* of this *Colour* is:

Firſt, Many things of *Amplitude* in their kind do (as it were) *engroſs* to themſelves *all*, and leave that which is *next* them moſt *deſtitute*. As the *Shoots*, or *Under-Wood*, that grow near a *great* and *ſpread Tree*, is the *moſt pined* and *ſhrubby* Wood of the Field; becauſe the *great Tree* doth *deprive* and *deceive* them of the *ſap* and *nouriſhment*; ſo *he* ſaith well, *Divitis ſervi maxime Servi*, *That* rich mens Servants are the greateſt Slaves: And the *Compariſon* was pleaſant of him, that compared *Courtiers* attendant in the *Courts of Princes*, without great *Place* or *Office*, to *Faſting-days*; which were next the *Holy-days*; but otherwiſe were the *leaneſt* days in all the Week.

Another *Reprehenſion* is, that things of *Greatneſs* and *Predominancy*, though they do not *extenuate* the things adjoyning in *ſubſtances*, yet they *drown them*, and *obſcure* them in *ſhew* and *appearance*. And therefore the *Aſtronomers* ſay; that, whereas in all *other* Planets *Conjunction* is the *perfecteſt amity*, the *Sun* contrariwiſe is *good* by *Aſpect*, but *evil* by *Conjunction*.

A third *Reprehenſion* is, becauſe *Evil* approacheth to *Good*, ſometimes for *concealment*, ſometimes for *protection*: And *Good* to *Evil* for *converſion* and *reformation*. So *Hypocriſie* draweth near to *Religion* for *covert* and *hiding* it ſelf.

Sæpe latet vitium proximitate boni.

Oft, under neighb-ring Good, Vice *ſhrowded lies.*

And

And *Sanctuary*-men, which were commonly *inordinate* men, and *Malefactors*, were wont to be neareſt to *Prieſts*, and *Prelates*, and *Holy-men*: for the *Majeſty* of *good* things is ſuch, as the *Confines* of them are *reverend*. On the other ſide, our *Saviour* charged with nearneſs of *Publicans* and *Rioters*, ſaid *Matt.* 9. 11. *The Phyſician approacheth the ſick rather than the whole.*

8. *Quod quis culpa ſua contraxit, Majus Malum: quod ab externis imponitur, Minus Malum.* That is,

That, which a Man hath procured by his own Default, is a *greater miſchief* (or *Evil*;) that, which is laid on by others, is a *leſſer Evil.*

THE *Reaſon* is, becauſe the *ſting* and *remorſe* of the mind, *accuſing* it ſelf, *doubleth* all Adverſity: Contrariwiſe, the *conſidering* and *recording* inwardly, that a man is *clear* and *free* from *fault*, and juſt *imputation*, doth *attempt* outward Calamities. For if the *Will* be in the *Senſe*, and in the *Conſcience* both, there is a *gemination* of it: But if *Evil* be in the *one*, and *Comfort* in the *other*, it is a kind of *Compoſition*: So the *Poets* in *Tragedies* do make the *moſt paſſionate Lamentation*, and thoſe that fore-run *final deſpair*, to be *accuſing*, *queſtioning*, and *torturing* of a *man*'s *ſelf.*

Seque unum clamat cauſamque caputque malorum.

She railing doth confeſs her ſelf to be
The cauſe and ſource of her own miſery.

And contrariwiſe, the *extremities* of *worthy* Perſons have been *annihilated* in the conſideration of *their own good deſerving*. Beſides, when the *Evil* cometh from *without*, there is left a kind of *evaporation of grief*, if it come by *humane injury*, either by *indignation*, and *meditating* of *revenge* from our ſelves, or by *expecting*, or *fore-conceiving*, that

that *Nemesis* and *Retribution* will take hold of the *Authors* of our *hurt*; or, if it be by *fortune* or *accident*; yet there is left a kind of *expostulation* against the *Divine Powers*.

Atque Deos atque Astra vocat crudelia Mater:

The God's and cruel Stars the Mother doth charge.

But, where the *Evil* is derived from a man's *own fault*, there all strikes *deadly inwards* and *suffocateth*.

The *Reprehension* of this *Colour* is:

First in respect of *Hope*: For Reformation of our *fault* is in *nostra potestate*, our *own power*; but amendment of our *fortune* simply is not: Therefore *Demosthenes* in many of his *Orations* saith thus to the People of *Athens*; *That which having regard to the time* past, *is the worse Point and circumstance of all the rest*; *That as to the time* to come, *is the best. What is that? Even this, that by your Sloth, Irresolution, and Misgovernment, your affairs are grown to this Declination and Decay: For, had you used and ordered your means and forces to the best, and done your parts every way to the full; and notwithstanding your matters should have gone backward in this manner as they do; there had been no hope left of Recovery or Reputation. But since it hath been only by your own errors*, &c. So *Epictetus* in his *Degrees* saith, *The worst state of man is to accuse extern Things, better than that to accuse any* man's self, *and best of all to accuse neither*.

Another *Reprehension* of this *Colour*, is in respect of the *well bearing of Evils*, wherewith a man can charge no body but *himself*, which maketh them the *less*.

——— *Leve fit, quod bene fertur onus:*

The Burthen's light, that's on discreetly laid.

And therefore many *natures*, that are either *extreamly proud*, and will take *no* fault to *themselves*; or else *very*

trifling

true, and *cleaving* to *themſelves*, (when they ſee the *blame* of any thing that falls out *ill*, muſt light upon *themſelves*) have no other *ſhift*, but to *bear* it *out well*, and to *make the leaſt* of it: For, as we ſee, when ſometimes a *fault* is *committed*, and before it be known *who* is to *blame*, much *ado* is made of it; but after, if it appear to be done by a *Son*, or by a *Wife*, or by a *near Friend*; then it is *light made of*: So much more, when a man muſt *take it upon himſelf*. And therefore it is commonly ſeen, that *Women* which marry *Husbands* of their *own chuſing*, againſt their *Friends conſents*, if they be never ſo *ill-uſed*, yet you ſhall ſeldom ſee them *complain*, but *ſet a good face on it*.

9. *Quod opera & virtute noſtra partum eſt; Majus Bonum: Quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia Fortunæ, delatum eſt; Minus Bonum.* That is,

That which is gotten by our own Pains and Induſtry, is a *greater good*; that which comes by another man's Courteſie, or the Indulgence of Fortune, is a *leſſer Good*.

THE *Reaſons* are,

First, The *future Hope*: Becauſe in the *favour* of *others*, or the *good Winds* of *Fortune*, we have no *ſtate*, or *certainty*; In our *endeavours*, or *abilities*, we have. So as when they have purchaſed us *one good Fortune*, we have them as *ready*, and *better edged* and *environed* to procure *another*.

The *Forms* be: *You have won this by play. You have not only the* Water, *but you have the* Receipt: *You can make it again, if it be loſt*, &c.

Next, becauſe theſe *Properties*, which we enjoy by the *benefit* of *others*, carry with them an *obligation*, which ſeemeth a kind of *burthen*: Whereas the *other*, which *derive* from *our ſelves*, are like the *freeſt Patents*, *Abſque aliquo inde reddendo*, without *making any reſtitution*. And if they proceed from *Fortune*, or *Providence*, yet they ſeem

ſeem to touch us ſecretly with the *reverence* of the *Divine Powers*, whoſe *Favours* we *taſte*, and therefore work a kind of *Religious Fear* and *reſtraint*: Whereas, in the *other* kind, that comes to paſs, which the *Prophet* ſpeaketh, *Ezek. Lætantur, exaltant, immolant plagis ſuis & ſacrificat reti ſuo*: Men are *glad*, they *rejoice*, they *offer to their Toils*, and *ſacrifice to their Nets.*

Thirdly, Becauſe that, which cometh unto us without *our own Vertue*, yieldeth not that *Commendation* and *Reputation*: For *Actions* of great *Felicity* may draw *wonder*, but *praiſe* leſs; as *Cicero* ſaid to *Cæſar*, *Quæ miremur, habemus; quæ laudemus, expectamus: That is*, They *had* what they might *wonder* at; but *expected* what they might *praiſe.*

Fourthly, Becauſe the *purchaſes* of our *own induſtry* are joyned commonly with *labour* and *ſtrife*; which gives an *edge* and *appetite*, and makes the *fruition* of our Deſires more *pleaſant*. *Suavis cibus à venatu:* Veniſon is ſweet of ones own killing.

On the other ſide, there be four *Counter-Colours* to this *Colour*, rather than *Reprehenſions*; becauſe they be as *large* as the *Colour it ſelf.*

Firſt, Becauſe *felicity* ſeemeth to be a *Character* of the *Favour* and *Love* of the *Divine Powers*; and accordingly works both of *confidence* in *our ſelves*, and *reſpect* and *authority* from *others.* And this *felicity* extendeth to many *caſual things*; whereunto the *care* and *virtue* of man cannot *extend*; and therefore ſeemeth to be at *large* Good. As when *Cæſar* ſaid to the Sailer; *Cæſarem portas, & fortunam ejus*; That he carried *Cæſar* and his *Fortune*: If he had ſaid, *Et virtutem ejus*, and his *Valour* it had been *ſmall comfort* againſt a *Tempeſt*; otherwiſe than if it might ſeem upon *Merit*, to induce *Fortune.*

Next, whatſoever is done by *Virtue* and *Induſtry* ſeems to be done by a kind of *Habit* and *Art*; and thereupon open to be *imitated* and *followed*: Whereas *Felicity* is *imitable.* So we generally ſee, that things of *Nature* ſeem more excellent than things of *Art*, becauſe the

they be *imitable*; for, *Quod Imitabile eſt, potentia quadam vulgatum eſt: What is* imitable, *is by a certain power made known abroad.*

Thirdly, *Felicity* commendeth thoſe *things* which come *without* our own *labour*: For *they* ſeem *Gifts*, and the *others* ſeem *Peny-worths*. Whereupon *Plutarch* ſaith elegantly of the *Acts* of *Timoleon*, who was ſo *fortunate*, compared with the *Acts* of *Ageſilaus* and *Epaminondas*, That *they were like* Homer's *Verſes*; *they ran ſo eaſily, and ſo well.* And therefore it is the *Word* we give unto *Poeſie*, terming it a *happy Vein*; becauſe *Facility* ſeemeth ever to come from *Happineſs.*

Fourthly, This ſame *præter ſpem, vel expectatum*, when *things* happen beſides *Hope* or *Expectation*, it doth increaſe the *Price* and *Pleaſure* of many *things*; and this cannot be incident to thoſe *things* that proceed from our own *care*, and *compaſſing.*

10. *Gradus Privationis major videtur, quam gradus Diminutionis: Et rurſus, Gradus inceptionis major videtur, quam Gradus Incrementi:* That is,

The Degree of *Privation* ſeems greater than the Degree of *Diminution*: And again, the Degree of *Inception*, (or *Beginning*,) ſeems greater than the Degree of *Increaſe.*

IT is a *Poſition* in the *Mathematicks*, that *there is no Proportion between ſomewhat and nothing*: Therefore the Degree of *Nullity* and *Quiddity*, (or *Act*) ſeemeth *larger* than the Degrees of *Increaſe* and *Decreaſe*. As to a *Monoculus*, it is more to loſe *one Eye*, than to a Man that hath *two Eyes*. So, if one have loſt *divers Children*, it is *more grief* to him to loſe the *laſt*, than *all the reſt*; becauſe he is *Spes Gregis*, the *Hope of his Stock.* And therefore *Sibylla*, when ſhe brought her *Three Books*, and had burned *Two* did *double* the *whole price of both the other*; becauſe the *burning of that* had been *gradus privationis*, a

Degree of *Privation*, and not *Diminutionis*, of *Diminution.*

This *Colour* is *reprehended:*

First, in those things, the *Use* and *Service* whereof resteth in *sufficiency, competency,* or *determinate quantity:* As if a man be to pay *one hundred Pounds* upon *penalty,* it is more to him to want *twelve Pence,* than after that *twelve Pence,* supposed to be *wanting,* to want *ten Shillings* more. So the *decay* of a *Man's Estate* seems to be *most touched* in the Degree, when he *first grows behind,* more than afterwards, when he proves *nothing worth.* And hereof the common *Forms* are: *Sera in fundo parsimonia*; or, *It is too late to pinch when the Purse is at the bottom*; and, *as good never a whit as never the better.*

It is *reprehended* also in respect of that Notion, *Corruptio unius, generatio alterius:* That the Corruption of one thing is the Generation of another. So that *Gradus Privationis,* the *Privative Degree* is many times less *Matter,* because it gives the *cause* and *motive* to some *new Course.* As when *Demosthenes* reprehended the People for *hearkning* to the *Conditions* offered by K. *Philip,* being not *honourable,* nor *equal,* he saith, *They were but Elements of their sloth and weakness; which if they were taken away, necessity would teach them stronger Resolutions.* So Doctor *Hector* was wont to say to the *Dames* of *London,* when they complained, they *were they could not tell how,* but yet they could not endure *to take any Medicine,* he would tell them, *their way was only* to be *sick; for then they would be glad to take any Medicine.*

Thirdly, This *Colour* may be *reprehended* in respect that the degree of *Decrease* is more *sensitive* than the Degree of *Privation*; for in the mind of Men, *Gradus Diminutionis,* the Degree of *Decrease,* may work a *wavering* between *Hope* and *Fear,* and keep the mind in *suspence,* from *settling,* and accommodating in *Patience,* and *Resolution.* Hereof the common *Forms* are; *Better cry out, than always ask; make or mar,* &c.

For

For the ſecond *Branch* of this *Colour*, it depends upon the ſame *General Reaſon*: Hence grew the *Common Place* of extolling the *beginning* of every thing;

Dimidium facti, qui bene cœpit, habet.

He hath his Work half done,
Whoe'er hath well begun.

This made the *Aſtrologer* ſo idle, as to judge of *Man's Nature*, and *Deſtiny* by the *Conſtellation* of the moment of his *Nativity*, or *Conception*.

This *Colour* is *reprehended*, becauſe many *Inceptions* are but (as *Epicurus* termeth them) *Tentamenta*, that is, *imperfect Offers*, and *Eſſays*, which *vaniſh*, and come to *no ſubſtance*, without any *iteration*; ſo as, in ſuch *Caſes*, the *ſecond Degree* ſeems the *worthieſt*; as the *Body-Horſe* in the *Cart*, that draweth more than the *Fore-Horſe*. Hereof the common *Forms*; *The ſecond Blow makes the Fray. The ſecond Word makes the Bargain. Alter principium dedit, alter modum abſtulit*, &c. The one began, the other kept no mean.

Another *Reprehenſion* of this *Colour*, is in reſpect of *Defatigation*, which makes *perſeverance* of greater Dignity than *Inception*: For *Chance* or *Inſtinct* of *Nature* may cauſe *Inception*: but *ſettled Affection*, or *Judgment*, maketh the *Continuance*.

Thirdly, This *Colour* is *reprehended* in ſuch *things*, which have a *Natural Courſe* and *Inclination*, contrary to an *Inception*: So that the *Inception* is continually *evacuated*, and gets no *ſtart*; but there behoveth *perpetua Inceptio*, that there be *always a beginning*; as in the common *Forms*: *Non progredi, eſt regredi. Not to go* forward, *is to go* backward. *Qui non proficit, deficit. He who makes no* Progreſs *decays. Running againſt an Hill*; *Rowing againſt the Stream*, or with the *Hill*, then the Degree of *Inception* is more than *all the reſt*.

Fourthly, This *Colour* is to be underſtood of *Gradus Inceptionis à potentia ad actum comparati, non gradus ab actu ad Incrementum*; *Of the Degree of* Inception, *in compariſon of the* Power *with the* Act, *not of the Degree from the* Act *to the* Increaſe. For otherwiſe, *Major videtur gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, quam à potentia ad actum, The Degree from* Impotency *to* Potency, *ſeems* greater, *than from the* Power *to the* Act.

11. *Quod laudant homines & celebrant, bonum; quod vituperant, & reprehendunt, malum.*

11. That which Men praiſe and celebrate, is good; that which they diſgrace, and reprehend, is bad.

THis Colour deceives four ways, *viz.*. either through Ignorance, or through want of Integrity; or through particular Reſpect and Faction, or through the natural inclination of thoſe that praiſe, or diſpraiſe. Firſt, Through *Ignorance*; for what ſignifies the Judgment of the Rabble in diſtinguiſhing and determining Good and Evil? *Phocian* knew well enough, who, when the People applauded him more than ordinary, asked, *Whether he had done any thing amiſs?* Secondly, Through *want of Integrity*; for thoſe that praiſe and diſpraiſe commonly carry on their own Deſigns and don't ſpeak what they think.

Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.

Every Man praiſes the Wares he would put off.

It is naught, it is naught, ſays the Buyer; but when he is gone, he vaunteth. Thirdly, Out of *Partiality*; for every one knows, that Men uſe to extol with immoderate praiſe thoſe that are on their own ſide, and to depreſs thoſe of the adverſe Party below their deſert. Laſtly, Through a natural *Inclination*; for ſome Men are by

by nature framed and moulded for ſervile Fawning and Flattery, whilſt others on the contrary are ſtiff, captious and moroſe; and when theſe commend or inveigh, they do but comply with their own Humours, not troubling their heads overmuch about the Truth of the buſineſs.

12. *Quod etiam ab inimicis laudatur, magnum bonum; quod verò etiam ab amicis reprehenditur, magnum malum.*

12. That which draws commendation even from Enemies, is a great Good; but that which is reprehended even by Friends, is a great Evil.

THis Colour ſeems to ſtand upon this Foundation, That it may well be believed, that the force of Truth extorts from us whatſoever we affirm to be againſt our Wills, and contrary to the bent and inclination of our Minds.

This Colour deceives through the ſubtilty, as well of Enemies as Friends: For the praiſes of Enemies are not always againſt their Wills, nor as forc'd by Truth, but they chuſe to beſtow them in ſuch caſes where they may create Envy or Danger to their Adverſaries. Therefore the *Grecians* had a ſuperſtitious Fancy, that if a Man were commended by another out of ſpight, and with a miſchievous deſign, he would have a puſh riſe upon his Noſe: Beſides, ſometimes Enemies beſtow Praiſes, like Preambles as twere, that they may the more freely and maliciouſly calumniate. On the other ſide, this Colour deceives, from the craft of Friends; for they'll ſometimes take notice of the faults of their Friends, and ſpeak freely of them; but they chuſe ſuch as may do them little hurt, as if for all the reſt they were the beſt Men in the World. Again, it deceives, becauſe Friends uſe their Reprehenſions (as we ſaid Enemies do their Commendations) as certain little Prefaces, after which they may expatiate more freely in their Praiſes.

FINIS.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

Written in *Latin* by the Right Honourable Sir *FRANCIS BACON*, Knight, Baron of *Verulam*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Done into *English* by Sir *ARTHUR GORGES*, Knight.

Scutum invincibile fides.

LONDON,

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THE PREFACE.

THE Antiquities of the first Age (except those we find in Sacred Writ) were buried in Oblivion and Silence: Silence was succeeded by Poetical Fables; and fables again were followed by the Records we now enjoy. So that the Mysteries and Secrets of Antiquity were distinguished and separated from the Records and Evidences of succeeding Times by the veil of Fiction, which interposed it self, and came between those things which perished, and those which are extant. I suppose some are of opinion, that my purpose is to write Toys and Trifles, and to usurp the same liberty in applying, that the Poets assumed in feigning, which I might do (I confess) if I listed, and with more serious contemplation intermix these things, to delight either my self in Meditation, or others in Reading. Neither am I ignorant how fickle and inconstant a thing Fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great the commodity of Wit and Discourse is, that is able to apply things well, yet so as never meant by the first Authors. But I remember that this liberty hath been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the reverence of Antiquity to their own Inventions and Fancies, have for the same intent laboured to wrest many Poetical Fables: Neither hath this old and common Vanity been used only of late, or now and then: For even Chrysippus *long ago did (as an Interpreter*

Interpreter of Dreams) *aſcribe the Opinions of the Stoicks to the Ancient Poets; and more ſottiſhly do the* Chymiſts *appropriate the Fancies and Delights of Poets in the Transformation of Bodies, to the Experiments of their Fornace. All theſe things, I ſay, I have ſufficiently conſidered and weighed, and in them have ſeen and noted the general Levity and Indulgence of Men's Wits above Allegories; and yet for all this I relinquiſh not my Opinion.*

For firſt it may not be, that the Folly and Looſeneſs of a few ſhould altogether detract from the reſpect due to the Parables: For that were a conceipt which might ſavour of Profaneneſs and Preſumption: For Religion it ſelf doth ſometimes delight in ſuch Veils and Shadows: So that who ſo exempts them, ſeems in a manner to interdict all Commerce between things Divine and Humane. But concerning Humane Wiſdom, I do indeed ingenuouſly and freely confeſs, that I am inclined to imagine, that under ſome of the Ancient Fictions lay couched certain Myſteries and Allegories, even from their firſt invention. And I am perſuaded (*whether raviſhed with the Reverence of Antiquity, or becauſe in ſome Fables I find ſuch ſingular proportion between the ſimilitude and the thing ſignified; and ſuch apt and clear coherence in the very Structure of them, and propriety of Names wherewith the Perſons or Actors in them are inſcribed and intituled*) *that no man can conſtantly deny; but this Senſe was in the Authors intent and meaning, when they firſt invented them, and that they purpoſely ſhadowed it in this ſort: For who can be ſo ſtupid and blind in the open Light, as* (*when he hears how Fame, after the Giants were deſtroyed, ſprung up as their youngeſt Siſter*

not to refer it to the Murmurs and ſeditious Reports of both ſides, which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the ſuppreſſing of Inſurrections? Or when he hears how the Giant Typhon, *having cut out and brought away* Jupiter's *Nerves, which* Mercury *ſtole from him, and reſtored again to* Jupiter; *doth not preſently perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerful Rebellions, which take from Princes their Sinews of Money and Authority; but ſo, that by affability of Speech, and wiſe Edicts (the Minds of their Subjects being in time privily, and as it were by ſtealth reconciled) they recover their ſtrength again? Or when he hears how (in that memorable Expedition of the Gods againſt the* Giants) *the braying of* Silenus *his Aſs, conduced much to the profligation of the* Giants, *doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to ſhew how the greateſt enterprizes of Rebels are oftentimes diſperſed with vain Rumors and Fears.*

Moreover, to what Judgment can the Conformity and Signification of Names ſeem obſcure? Seeing Metis, *the Wife of* Jupiter, *doth plainly ſignifie Counſel:* Typhon, *Inſurrection:* Pan, *Univerſality:* Nemeſis, *Revenge, and the like: Neither let it trouble any man, if ſometimes he meet with Hiſtorical Narrations, or Additions for* Ornament's *ſake, or confuſion of Times, or ſomething transferred from one Fable to another, to bring in a new Allegory: For it could be no otherwiſe, ſeeing they were the Inventions of Men, which lived in divers Ages, and had alſo divers Ends: Some being ancient, others neoterical; ſome have an eye to things Natural, others to Moral.*

There is another Argument, and that no ſmall one neither, to prove that theſe Fables contain certain hid-

den,

den, and involved meanings, ſeeing ſome of them are obſerved to be ſo abſurd, and fooliſh in the very relation that they ſhew, and as it were proclaim a Parable afar of: For ſuch Tales as are probable, they may ſeem to be invented for delight, and in imitation of Hiſtory. And as for ſuch as no man would ſo much as imagine or relate, they ſeem to be ſought out for other ends: For what kind of Fiction is that, wherein Jupiter *is ſaid to have taken* Metis *to Wife; and, perceiving that ſhe was with Child, to have devoured her; whence himſelf conceiving, brought forth* Pallas *armed, out of his Head? Truly, I think there was never Dream (ſo different to the courſe of Cogitation, and ſo full of Monſtroſity,) ever hatch'd in the Brain of Man. Above all things, this prevails moſt with me and is of ſingular moment, many of theſe Fables ſeem not to be invented of thoſe by whom they are related, and celebrated, as by* Homer, Heſiod *and others. For if it were ſo, that they took beginning in that Age, and from thoſe Authors by whom they are delivered, and brought to our hands: My Mind gives me, there could be no great or high Matter expected, or ſuppoſed to proceed from them in reſpect of theſe Originals. But if with attention we conſider the Matter, it will appear, that they were delivered, and related as things formerly believed, and received, and not as newly invented, and offered unto us. Beſides, ſeeing they are diverſly related by Writers that lived near about one and the ſelf-ſame time, we may eaſily perceive that they were common things, derived from precedent Memorials; and that they became various by reaſon of the divers Ornaments beſtowed on them by particular Relations: And the conſideration of this muſt needs in-*

creaſe

creaſe in us a great opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects off the time, or inventions of the Poets, but as ſacred Relicks, or abſtracted Airs of better times, which by Tradition from more Ancient Nations, fell into the Trumpets and Flutes of the Græcians. *But if any do obſtinately contend, That Allegories are always adventitially, and as it were by conſtraint, never naturally, and properly included in Fables, we will not be much troubleſome, but ſuffer them to enjoy that gravity of Judgment, which I am ſure they affect, although indeed it be but lumpiſh, and almoſt leaden. And (if they be worthy to be taken notice of,) we will begin a freſh with them in ſome other faſhion.*

There is found among Men, (and it goes for current,) a twofold uſe of Parables, and thoſe, (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary ends; conducing as well to the folding up, and keeping of things under a Veil, as to the enlightning and laying open of obſcurities. But omitting the former, (rather than to undergo wrangling, and aſſuming ancient Fables as things vagrant, and compoſed only for delight,) the latter muſt queſtionleſs ſtill remain as not to be wreſted from us by any violence of Wit, neither can any (that is but meanly learned) hinder; but it muſt abſolutely be received, as a thing grave, and ſober, free from all vanity, and exexceeding profitable, and neceſſary to all Sciences. This is it, I ſay, that leads the underſtanding of Man by an eaſie and gentle paſſage through all novel and abſtruſe inventions, which any way differ from common received Opinions. Therefore in the firſt Ages (when many humane Inventions and Concluſions, which are now common, and vulgar, were new, and not generally known,) all things were Full of Fables, Enigma's, Parables,

rables, and Similies of all ſorts: By which they ſought to teach, and lay open, not to hide and conceal Knowledge; eſpecially ſeeing the Underſtandings of Men were in thoſe times rude and impatient, and almoſt incapable of any Subtilties; ſuch things only excepted, as were the Object of Senſe; for as Hieroglyphicks *preceeded Letters, ſo Parables were more ancient than Arguments. And in theſe days alſo, he that would illuminate Mens minds anew in any old Matter, and that not with diſprofit, and harſhneſs, muſt abſolutely take the ſame Courſe, and uſe the help of Similies. Wherefore after all that hath been ſaid, we muſt thus conclude:* The Wiſdom of the Ancients, *it was either much, or happy: Much, if theſe Figures and Tropes were invented by ſtudy and premeditation; Happy, if they (intending nothing leſs,) gave Matter, and Occaſion to ſo many worthy Meditations. As concerning my Labours, (if there be any thing in them which may do good,) I will on neither part count them ill beſtowed, my purpoſe being to illuſtrate either Antiquity, or Things themſelves. Neither am I ignorant that this very Subject hath been attempted by others: But to ſpeak as I think, and that freely without oſtentation, the Dignity and Efficacy of the Thing, is almoſt loſt by theſe Men's Writings, though voluminous, and full of Pains, whilſt not diving into the depth of Matters, but skilful only in certain common places, have applied the ſenſe of theſe Parables to certain vulgar, and general Things, not ſo much as glancing at their true Vertue, genuine Propriety, and full Depth. I (if I be not deceived,) ſhall be new in common Things. Wherefore leaving ſuch as are plain and open, I will aim at farther and richer Matters.*

TO THE
BOOK.

Rich Mine of Art, Minion of Mercury,
True Truch-Man of the Mind of Myſtery;
Invention's Store-Houſe, Nymph of Helicon;
Deep Moraliſt of Time, Tradition.
Unto this Paragon of Brutus *Race,*
Preſent thy Service, and with chearful Grace,
Say, (if Pythagoras *believ'd may be,)*
The Soul of Ancient Wiſdom *lives in Thee.*

THE

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS

CASSANDRA, or, Divination.

THE *Poets* Fable, That *Apollo* being enamoured of *Caſſandra*, was by her many ſhifts and cunning ſlights ſtill deluded in his Deſire; but yet fed on with hope, untill ſuch time as ſhe had drawn from him the Gift of Propheſying; and having by ſuch her Diſſimulation, in the end, attained to that which from the beginning ſhe ſought after; at laſt, flatly rejected his Suit. Who finding himſelf ſo far engaged in his Promiſe, as that he could not by any means revoke again his raſh Gift, and yet enflamed with an earneſt deſire of Revenge, highly diſdaining to be made the ſcorn of a crafty Wench, annexed a Penalty to his Promiſe, *viz.* that ſhe ſhould ever foretel the truth, but never be believed: So were her Divinations always faithful, but at no time regarded; whereof ſhe ſtill found the experience, yea, even in the ruine

ruine of her own Countrey, which ſhe had often forewarned them of; but they neither gave credit nor ear to her words. This Fable ſeems to intimate the unprofitable liberty of untimely admonitions and counſels: For they that are ſo over-weened with the ſharpneſs and dexterity of their own wit and capacity, as that they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves to the documents of *Apollo*, the God of Harmony, whereby to learn, and obſerve the method and meaſure of affairs, the grace and gravity of Diſcourſe, the differences between the more judicious and more vulgar Ears, and the due times when to ſpeak, and when to be ſilent; be they never ſo ſenſible, and pregnant, and their judgments never ſo profound, and profitable; yet in all their endeavours either of perſwaſion, or perforce, they avail nothing, neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage matters; but do rather haſten on the ruine of all thoſe that they adhere, or devote themſelves unto. And then at laſt, when calamity doth make men feel the event of neglect, then ſhall they too late be reverenced as deep, foreſeeing, and faithful Prophets. Whereof a notable inſtance is eminently ſet forth in *Marcus Cato Uticenſis*, who, as from a watch-tower, diſcovered afar off, and, as an Oracle, long foretold the approaching ruine of his Country, and the plotted Tyranny hovering over the State, both in the firſt Conſpiracy, and as it was proſecuted in the Civil Contention between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and did no good the while, but rather harmed the Commonwealth, and haſtned on his Countrey's bane; which *M. Cicero* wiſely obſerved, and writing to a familiar Friend, doth in theſe terms excellently deſcribe, *Cato optime ſentit, ſed nocet interdum Reipublicæ: Loquitur enim tanquam in Republicâ Platonis, non tanquam in fæce Romuli.* *Cato* (ſaith he,) judgeth profoundly, but in the mean time damnifies the State; for he ſpeaks in the Commonwealth of *Plato*, and not as in the Dregs of *Romulus*.

TYPHON, or a Rebel.

JUNO being vex'd (ſay the Poets) that *Jupiter* had begotten *Pallas* by himſelf without her, earneſtly preſſed all the other Gods and Goddeſſes that ſhe might alſo bring forth of her ſelf alone without him; and having by violence, and importunity obtained a grant thereof, ſhe ſmote the Earth, and forthwith ſprang up *Typhon*, a huge, and horrid Monſter: This ſtrange Birth ſhe commits to a Serpent, (as a Foſter-Father,) to nouriſh it; who no ſooner came to ripeneſs of years, but he provokes *Jupiter* to Battel: In the Conflict the Gyant getting the upper hand, takes *Jupiter* upon his ſhoulders, carries him into a remote, and obſcure Countrey, and (cutting out the ſinews of his Hands and Feet,) brought them away, and ſo left him miſerably mangled and maimed. But *Mercury* recovering these Nerves from *Typhon* by ſtealth, reſtored them again to *Jupiter*. *Jupiter* being again by this means corroborated, aſſaults the Monſter afreſh, and at the firſt ſtrike him with a Thunder-bolt, from whoſe Blood Serpents were ingendred. This Monſter at length fainting, and flying, *Jupiter* caſts on him the Mount *Ætna*, and with the weight thereof cruſh'd him.

This Fable ſeems to point at the variable fortune of Princes, and the rebellious inſurrection of Traytors in a State: For Princes may well be ſaid to be married to their Dominions, as *Jupiter* was to *Juno*; but it happens now and then, that being deboſned by the long cuſtom of empiring, and bending towards Tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themſelves, and (contemning the Counſel of their Nobles and Senators) hatch Laws in their own Brain; that is, diſpoſe of things by their own fancy, and abſolute power. The people (repining at this) ſtudy how to create, and ſet up a Chief of their own choice. This Project by the ſecret inſtigation of the Peers, and Nobles, doth for the

the moſt part take his beginning; by whoſe connivence the Commons being ſet on edge, there follows a kind of murmuring, or diſcontent in the State, ſhadow'd by the Infancy of *Typhon*, which being nurs'd by the natural pravity, and clowniſh malignity of the vulgar ſort, (unto Princes, as infeſtuous as Serpents,) is again repaired by a renewed ſtrength, and at laſt breaks out into open Rebellion, which (becauſe it brings infinite miſchiefs upon Prince and People) is repreſented by the monſtrous deformity of *Typhon*: his hundred heads ſignifie their divided powers; his fiery mouths, their inflamed intents; his Serpentine Circles, their peſtilent Malice in beſieging; his Iron Hands, their mercileſs ſlaughters; his Eagles Talons, their greedy Rapines; his plumed Body, their continual Rumors, and Scouts, and Fears, and ſuch like; and ſometimes theſe Rebellions grow ſo potent, that Princes are inforced (tranſported as it were, by the Rebels, and forſaking the chief Seats and Cities of the Kingdom,) to contract their Power, and (being deprived of the Sinews of Money and Majeſty,) betake themſelves to ſome remote and obſcure corner within their Dominions: but in proceſs of time, (if they bear their Misfortunes with moderation,) they may recover their ſtrength, by the virtue and induſtry of *Mercury*; that is, they may (by becoming affable, and by reconciling the minds and wills of their Subjects with grave Edicts, and gracious Speech,) excite an Alacrity to grant Aids, and Subſidies, whereby to ſtrengthen their Authority anew. Neverthelefs, having learned to be wiſe and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of Fortune by War, and yet ſtudy how to ſuppreſs the reputation of the Rebels by ſome famous Action, which if it fall out anſwerable to their expectation, the Rebels finding themſelves weakned, and fearing the ſucceſs of their broken Projects; betake themſelves to ſome ſlight, and vain Bravadoes, like the hiſſing of Serpents, and at length in deſpair betake themſelves to flight; and then when

they begin to break, it is ſafe and timely for Kings to purſue, and oppreſs them with the Forces and Weight of the Kingdom, as it were with the Mountain *Ætna*.

The CYCLOPS, or the Miniſters of Terror.

THey ſay that the *Cyclops*, for their fierceneſs, and cruelty, were by *Jupiter* caſt into Hell, and there doomed to perpetual impriſonment; but *Tellus* perſwaded *Jupiter* that it would do well, if being ſet at liberty, they were put to forge Thunder-bolts, which being done accordingly, they became ſo painful and induſtrious, as that day and night they continued hammering out in laborious diligence Thunder-bolts, and other inſtruments of Terror. In proceſs of time *Jupiter* having conceiv'd a Diſpleaſure againſt *Æſculapius*, the Son of *Apollo*, for reſtoring a dead Man to life by Phyſick; and concealing his diſlike, (becauſe there was no juſt cauſe of anger, the deed being pious and famous,) ſecretly incens'd the *Cyclops* againſt him, who without delay ſlew him with a Thunder-bolt. In revenge of which Act, *Apollo* (*Jupiter* not prohibiting it) ſhot them to Death with his Arrows.

This Fable may be applied to the Projects of Kings, who having cruel, bloody, and exacting Officers, do firſt puniſh and diſplace them; afterwards by the counſel of *Tellus*, that is, of ſome baſe, and ignoble Perſon, and by the prevailing reſpect of Profit, they admit them into their Places again, that they may have Inſtruments in a readineſs, if at any time there ſhould need either ſeverity of execution, or acerbity of exaction. Theſe ſervile Creatures being by nature cruel, and by their former fortune exaſperated, and perceiving well what is expected at their hands, do ſhew themſelves wonderful officious in ſuch kind of Employments; but being too raſh, and precipitate in

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ſeeking countenance, and creeping into favour, do ſometimes take occaſion from the ſecret Beckonings, and ambiguous Commands of their Prince, to perform ſome hateful execution. But Princes (abhorring the Fact, and knowing well, that they ſhall never want ſuch kind of Inſtruments,) do utterly forſake them, turning them over to the Friends and Allies of the wronged, to their Accuſations and Revenge, and to the general Hatred of the People; ſo that with great Applauſe, and proſperous Wiſhes and Acclamations towards the Prince, they are brought, rather too late, than undeſervedly, to a miſerable end.

NARCISSUS, or, Self-Love.

THey ſay, that *Narciſſus* was exceeding fair and beautiful, but wonderful proud and diſdainful; wherefore deſpiſing all others in reſpect of himſelf, he leads a ſolitary Life in the Woods and Chaſes, with a few Followers, to whom he alone was all in all; amongſt the reſt, there follows him the Nymph *Echo*. During his Courſe of Life, it fatally ſo chanced, that he came to a clear Fountain, upon the Bank whereof he lay down to repoſe himſelf in the heat of the Day. And having eſpied the ſhadow of his own Face in the Water, was ſo beſotted, and raviſhed with the contemplation and admiration thereof, that he by no means poſſible could be drawn from beholding his Image in this Glaſs; inſomuch, that by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at laſt turned into a Flower of his own Name, which appears in the beginning of the Spring, and is ſacred to the infernal Powers, *Pluto*, *Proſerpina*, and the *Furies*.

This Fable ſeems to ſhew the Diſpoſitions, and Fortunes of thoſe, who in reſpect either of their Beauty, or other Gift wherewith they are adorned, and graced by

Nature, without the help of Induſtry, are ſo far beſotted in themſelves, as that they prove the cauſe of their own deſtruction. For it is the property of Men infected with this Humour, not to come much abroad, or to be converſant in Civil Affairs, ſpecially ſeeing thoſe that are in publick Place, muſt of neceſſity encounter with many Contempts, and Scorns, which may much deject, and trouble their Minds; and therefore they lead for the moſt part a ſolitary, private, and obſcure Life, attended on with a few Followers, and thoſe, ſuch as will adore, and admire them, like an *Echo* flatter them in all their Sayings, and applaud them in all their Words. So that being by this Cuſtom ſeduced, and puft up, and as it were, ſtupified with the admiration of themſelves, they are poſſeſſed with ſo ſtrange a Sloth add Idleneſs, that they grow in a manner benumb'd, and defective of all vigour and alacrity. Elegantly doth this Flower, appearing in the beginning of the Spring, repreſent the likeneſs of theſe Men's Diſpoſitions, who, in their youth do flouriſh, and wax famous; but being come to ripeneſs of years, they deceive and fruſtrate the good hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent that this Flower is ſaid to be conſecrated to the infernal Deities, becauſe Men of this diſpoſition become unprofitable to all humane things: For whatſoever produceth no Fruit of it ſelf, but paſſeth, and vaniſheth as if it had never been, (like the way of a Ship in the Sea,) that the Ancients were wont to dedicate to the Ghoſts, and Powers below.

STYX, or Leagues.

THE Oath by which the Gods were wont to oblige themſelves, (when they meant to ratifie any thing ſo firmly as never to revoke it,) is a thing well known to the Vulgar, as being mentioned almoſt in every Fable,

ble, which was when they did not invoke or call to witneſs any Celeſtial Majeſty, or Divine Power, but only the River *Styx*, that with crooked and *Meandry* Turnings incircleth the Palace of the infernal *Dis*. This was held as the only manner of their Sacrament; and beſides it, not any other Vow to be accounted firm, and inviolable; and therefore the puniſhment to be inflicted, (if any did perjure themſelves,) was, that for certain years they ſhould be put out of Commons, and not to be admitted to the Table of the Gods.

This Fable ſeems to point at the Leagues and Pacts of Princes, of which, more truly, than opportunely, may be ſaid, That be they never ſo ſtrongly confirmed with the Solemnity and Religion of an Oath, yet are for the moſt part, of no validity; inſomuch that they are made rather with an Eye to Reputation, and Report, and Ceremony, than to Faith, Security, and Effect. Moreover, add to theſe the Bond of Affinity, as the Sacraments of Nature, and mutual Deſerts of each Part, and you ſhall obſerve, that with a great many, all theſe things are placed a degree under Ambition and Profit, and the licentious deſire of Domination; and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is an eaſie thing for Princes to defend and cover their unlawful Deſires and unfaithful Vows, with many outwardly ſeeming fair Pretexts, eſpecially ſeeing there is no Umpire or Moderator of Matters concluded upon to whom a Reaſon ſhould be tendred. Therefore there is no true and proper thing made choice of, for the confirmation of Faith, and that no celeſtial Power neither, but is indeed *Neceſſity*, (a great God to great Potentates,) the Peril alſo of State, and the Communication of Profit. As for *Neceſſity*, it is elegantly repreſented by *Styx*, that fatal and irremeable River; and this Godhead did *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, call to the Confirmation of a League; who becauſe he alone is found to ſpeak plainly that which many hide covertly in their Breaſts, it would not be amiſs to relate his words. He obſerving how the *Lacedæmonians*

had thought upon, and propounded divers Cautions, Sanctions, Confirmations and Bonds, pertaining to Leagues, interpoſed thus: *Unum Lacedæmonii, nobis vobiſcum vinculum & ſecuritatis ratio eſſe poſſit; ſi plane demonſtretis, vos ea nobis conceſſiſſe, & inter mavus poſuiſſe, ut vobis facultas lædendi nos, ſi maxime velletis, minime ſuppetere poſſit.* There is one thing (O *Lacedæmonians*) that would link us unto you in the Bond of Amity, and be the occaſion of Peace and Security; which is, if you would plainly demonſtrate, that you have yielded up and put into our hands ſuch things as that, would you hurt us never ſo fain, you ſhould yet be diſfurniſhed of means to do it. If therefore the power of hurting be taken away, or if by breach of League there follow the danger of the ruine or diminution of the State or Tribute; then indeed the Leagues may ſeem to be ratified and eſtabliſhed, and as it were confirmed by the Sacrament of the *Stygian* Lake; ſeeing that it includes the fear of Prohibition and Suſpenſion from the Table of the Gods, unger which name the Laws and Prerogatives, the Plenty and Felicity of a Kingdom were ſignified by the *Ancients.*

PAN, or Nature.

THE *Ancients* have exquiſitely deſcribed *Nature* under the Perſon of *Pan*, whoſe original they leave doubtful; for ſome ſay that he was the Son of *Mercury*, others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common Off-ſpring of *Penelope's* Suitors, upon a ſuſpicion, that every one of them had to do with her; which latter relation doubtleſs gave occaſion to ſome after-Writers to entitle this ancient Fable with the name of *Penelope*, a thing very frequent amongſt them, when they apply old Fictions to young perſons and names, and that many times abſurdly

abſurdly and indiſcreetly, as may be ſeen here: For *Pan* being one of the Ancient Gods, was long before the time of *Ulyſſes* and *Penelope*. Beſides (for her Matronal Chaſtity) ſhe was held venerable by Antiquity. Neither may we pretermit the third conceit of his Birth: For ſome ſay, That he was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Hybris*, which ſignifies contumely or diſdain. But howſoever begotten, the *Parcæ* (they ſay) were his Siſters. He is pourtrayed by the *Ancients* in this guiſe; on his Head a pair of Horns to reach to Heaven, his Body rough and Hairy, his Beard long and ſhaggy, his ſhape biformed, above like a Man, below like a Beaſt, his Feet like Goat's-hoofs, bearing theſe Enſigns of his Juriſdiction, to wit, in his left-hand a Pipe of ſeven Reeds, and in his right a Sheep-hook, or a Staff crooked at the upper end, and his Mantle made of a *Leopard*'s Skin. His Dignities and Offices were theſe: He was the God of Hunters, of Shepherds, and of all Rural Inhabitants: chief Preſident alſo of Hills and Mountains, and next to *Mercury*, the Embaſſador of the Gods. Moreover, He was accounted the Leader and Commander of the *Nymphs*, which were always wont to dance the rounds, and friſk about him; he was accoſted by the *Satyrs* and the old *Sileni*. He had power alſo to ſtrike Men with terrors, and thoſe eſpecially vain and ſuperſtitious, which are termed *Panick fears*. His acts were not many, for ought that can be found in Records, the chiefeſt was, that he challenged *Cupid* at wreſtling, in which conflict he had the foil. The Tale goes too, how that he caught the Gyant *Typhon* in a Net, and held him faſt. Moreover, where *Ceres* (grumbling and chafing that *Proſerpina* was raviſhed) had hid her ſelf away, and that all the Gods took pains (by diſperſing themſelves into every corner) to find her out, it was only his good hap (as he was hunting) to light on her, and acquaint the reſt where ſhe was. He preſumed alſo to put it to the tryal who was the beſt Muſician, he or

Apollo,

Apollo, and by the judgment of *Midas* was indeed preferred: But the wiſe Judge had a pair of Aſſes Ears privately chopt to his Noddle for his ſentence. Of his Love-tricks, there is nothing reported, or at leaſt not much, a thing to be wondred at, eſpecially being among a Troop of Gods ſo profuſely amorous. This only is ſaid of him, that he loved the Nymph *Echo* (whom he took to Wife) and one pretty Wench more called *Syrinx*, towards whom *Cupid* (in an angry and revengeful humour, becauſe ſo audaciouſly he had challenged him at Wreſtling) inflamed his deſire. Moreover, he had no Iſſue (which is a marvel alſo, ſeeing the Gods, eſpecially thoſe of the Male kind, were very generative) only he was the reputed Father of a little Girl called *Jambe*, that with many pretty Tales was wont to make ſtrangers merry; but ſome think that he did indeed beget her by his Wife *Jambe*. This (if any be) is a noble Tale, as being laid out and big-bellied with the Secrets and Myſteries of Nature.

Pan (as his name imports) repreſents and lays open the All of Things or Nature. Concerning his original there are two only Opinions that go for currant; for either he came of *Mercury*, that is, the Word of God, which the Holy Scriptures without all controverſie affirm, and ſuch of the Philoſophers as had any ſmack of Divinity aſſented unto; or elſe from the confuſed Seeds of things. For they that would have one ſimple beginning, refer it unto God; or if a materiate beginning, they would have it various in power. So that we may end the Controverſie with this Diſtribution, That the World took beginning, either from *Mercury*, or from the Seeds of all things.

Virg. Eclog. 6.

Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque, animæque, marisque fuiſſent,

Et

Et liquidi ſimul ignis : Et his exordia primis
Omnia, & ipſe tener mundi concreverit Orbis.

For rich-vein'd *Orpheus* ſweetly did rehearſe
How that the Seeds of Fire, Air, Water, Earth,
Were all pact in the vaſt void Univerſe:
And how from theſe as Firſtlings, all bad birth,
And how the Body of this Orbick frame,
From tender infancy ſo big became.

But, as touching the third conceit of *Pan*'s Original, it ſeems that the *Græcians* (either by intercourſe with the *Ægyptians*, or one way or other) had heard ſomething of the *Hebrew* Myſteries; for it points to the ſtate of the World, not conſidered in immediate Creation, but after the fall of *Adam*, expoſed and made ſubject to Death and Corruption: For in that ſtate it was (and remains to this day) the Off-ſpring of God and Sin. And therefore all theſe Three Narrations concerning the manner of *Pan*'s birth may ſeem to be true, if it be rightly diſtinguiſhed between Things and Times. For this *Pan* or Nature (which we ſuſpect, contemplate and reverence more than is fit) took beginning from the Word of God by the means of confuſed matter, and the entrance of Prevarication and Corruption. The deſtinies may well be thought the Siſters of *Pan* or *Nature*, becauſe the beginnings and continuances, and corruptions and depreſſions, and diſſolutions, and eminences, and labours and felicities of things, and all the chances which can happen unto any thing, are linkt with the Chain of Cauſes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him, becauſe Horns are broad at the root and ſharp at the ends, the nature of all things being like a *Pyramis*, ſharp at the top. For individual or ſingular things being infinite are firſt collected into *ſpecies*, which are many alſo; then from *ſpecies* into *generals*, and from *generals* (by aſcending) are contracted into things or notions more general; ſo that

that at length *Nature* may ſeem to be contracted into an unity. Neither is it to be wondred at, that *Pan* toucheth Heaven with his Horns, ſeeing the height of Nature or univerſal *Ideas* do, in ſome ſort, pertain to things Divine, and there is a ready and ſhort Paſſage from *Metaphyſick* to natural *Theology*.

The Body of *Nature* is elegantly and with deep judgment depainted hairy, repreſenting the beams or operations of creatures; for beams are as it were the Hairs and Briſtles of *Nature*, and every creature is either more or leſs beamy, which is moſt apparent in the faculty of ſeeing, and no leſs in every vertue and operation that effectuates upon a diſtant Object, for whatſoever works upon any thing afar off, that may rightly be ſaid to dart forth Rays or Beams.

Moreover, *Pan*'s Beard is ſaid to be exceeding long, becauſe the beams or influences of Cœleſtial Bodies do operate and pierce fartheſt of all; and the Sun, when (his higher half is ſhadowed with a Cloud) his Beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were bearded.

Nature is alſo excellently ſet forth with a biformed Body, with reſpect to the differences between ſuperior and inferior Creatures. For one part, by reaſon of their Pulcritude, and equability of motion, and conſtancy and dominion over the Earth and earthly things, is worthily ſet out by the ſhape of Man: and the other part in reſpect of their perturbations and unconſtant motions, (and therefore needing to be moderated by the Cœleſtial) may be well fitted with the Figure of a Brute Beaſt. This Deſcription of his Body pertains alſo to the participation of *Species*, for no natural being ſeems to be ſimple, but as it were participated and compounded of two. As for example, Man hath ſomething of a Beaſt, a Beaſt ſomething of a Plant, a Plant ſomething of inanimate Body, of that all natural things are in very deed biformed, that is to ſay, compounded of a ſuperior and inferior *Species*.

It

It is a very witty Allegory, that ſame of the Feet of the Goat, by reaſon of the upward tending motion of Terreſtrial Bodies towards the Air and Heaven, for the Goat is a climbing Creature, that loves to be hanging about the Rocks and ſteep Mountains; and this is done alſo in a wonderful manner, even by thoſe thing which are deſtinated to this inferior Globe, as may manifeſtly appear in Clouds and Meteors.

The two Enſigns which *Pan* bears in his hands do point, the one at Harmony, the other at Empire: For the Pipe conſiſting of ſeven Reeds, doth evidently demonſtrate the conſent, and Harmony, and diſcordant concord of all inferior Creatures, which is cauſed by the Motion of the ſeven Planets: And that of the Sheep-hook may be excellently apply'd to the order of nature, which is partly right, partly crooked: This Staff therefore or Rod is ſpecially crooked in the upper end, becauſe all the works of Divine Providence in the World are done in a far fetcht and circular manner, ſo that one thing may ſeem to be affected and yet indeed a clean contrary brought to paſs; as the ſelling of *Joſeph* into *Ægypt*, and the like. Beſides in all wiſe Humane Government, they that ſit at the Helm do more happily bring their purpoſes about, and inſinuate more eaſily into the minds of the People, by pretexts and oblique courſes, than by direct methods: ſo that all Scepters and Maſſes of Authority ought in very deed to be crooked in the upper end.

Pan's Cloak or Mantle is ingeniouſly feigned to be a Skin of a Leopard, becauſe it is full of Spots: So the Heavens are ſpotted with Stars, the Sea with Rocks and Iſlands, the Land with Flowers, and every particular Creature alſo is for the moſt part garniſhed with divers colours about the ſuperficies, which is as it were a Mantle unto it.

The Office of *Pan* can be by nothing ſo lively conceived and expreſt, as by feigning him to be the God of Hunters, for every natural action, and ſo by conſequence,

quence, Motion and Progreſſion, is nothing elſe but a Hunting. Arts and Sciences have their works, and Humane Counſels their ends which they earneſtly hunt after. All natural things have either their Food as a Prey, or their Pleaſure as a Recreation which they ſeek for, and that in moſt expert and ſagacious manner.

Torva Leæna Lupum ſequitur, Lupus ipſe Capellam.
Florentem Cytiſum ſequitur laſciva Capella.

The hungry Lioneſs, (with ſharp deſire)
Purſues the Wolf, the Wolf the wanton Goat:
The Goat again doth greedily aſpire
To have the trifoil Juyce paſs down her Throat.

Pan is alſo ſaid to be the God of the Country-Clowns, becauſe Men of this condition lead lives more agreeable unto Nature, than thoſe that live in the Cities and Courts of Princes, where nature by too much Art is corrupted: So as the ſaying of the Poet (though in the ſenſe of Love) might be here verified:

Pars minima eſt ipſa puella ſui.

The Maid ſo trickt her ſelf with Art,
That of her ſelf ſhe is leaſt part:

He was held to be Lord Preſident of the Mountains, becauſe in the high Mountains and Hills, *Nature* lays her ſelf moſt open, and Men moſt apt to view and contemplation.

Whereas *Pan* is ſaid to be (next unto *Mercury*) the Meſſenger of the Gods, there is in that a Divine Myſtery contained, for next to the Word of God, the Image of the world proclaims the Power and Wiſdom Divine, as ſings the Sacred Poet, *Pſal.* xix. 1. *Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat firmamentum.*

The

The Heavens declare the glory of God, and the Firmament ſheweth the Works of his Hands.

The *Nymphs*, that is, the Souls of living things take great delight in *Pan*. For theſe Souls are the delights or minions of *Nature*, and the direction or conduct of theſe *Nymphs* is with great reaſon attributed unto *Pan*, becauſe the Souls of all things living do follow their natural diſpoſitions as their guides, and with infinite variety every one of them after his own faſhion, doth leap, and friſk and dance with inceſſant motions about her. The *Satyrs* and *Sileni* alſo, to wit, Youth and Old-age, are ſome of *Pan's* followers: For of all natural things, there is a lively, jocund, and (as I may ſay) a dancing age, and an age again that is dull, bibling and reeling. The carriages and diſpoſitions of both which ages, to ſome ſuch as *Democritus* was, (that would obſerve them duly,) might peradventure ſeem as ridiculous and deformed, as the gambols of the *Satyrs*, or the geſtures of the *Sileni*.

Of thoſe fears and terrors which *Pan* is ſaid to be the Author, there may be this wiſe conſtruction made: Namely, that Nature hath bred in every living thing a kind of care and fear, tending to the preſervation of its own life and being, and to the repelling and ſhunning of all things hurtful. And yet *Nature* knows not how to keep a mean, but always intermixes vain and empty fears with ſuch as are diſcreet and profitable: So that all things (if their inſides might be ſeen) would appear full of *Panick* frights: But men eſpecially in hard, fearful, and diverſe times, are wonderfully infatuated with ſuperſtition, which indeed is nothing elſe but a *Panick* terror.

Concerning the audacity of *Pan* in challenging *Cupid* at wreſtling: The meaning of it is, that Matter wants not inclination and deſire to the relapſing and diſſolution of the World into the old *Chaos*, if her malice and violence were not reſtrained and kept in order, by the prepotent unity and agreement of things ſignified by *Cupid*,

Cupid, or the God of Love; and therefore it was a happy turn for Men, and all things elſe, that in their conflict *Pan* was found too weak, and overcome.

To the ſame effect may be interpreted his catching of *Typhon* in a Net: For howſoever there may ſometimes happen vaſt and unwonted Tumours (as the name of *Typhon* imports) either in the Sea, or in the Air, or in the Earth, or elſewhere; yet *Nature* doth intangle it in an intricate toil, and curb and reſtrain in, as it were with a Chain of Adamant, the exceſſes and inſolencies of theſe kind of Bodies.

But foraſmuch as it was *Pan*'s good fortune to find out *Ceres* as he was Hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other Gods could do, though they did nothing elſe but ſeek her, and that very ſeriouſly; it gives us this true and grave admonition, That we expect not to receive things neceſſary for life and manners from Philoſophical Abſtractions, as from the greater Gods; albeit they applied themſelves to no other ſtudy, but from *Pan*; that is, from the diſcreet obſervation and experience, and the univerſal knowledge of the things of this World; whereby (oftentimes even by chance, and as it were going a Hunting) ſuch Inventions are lighted upon.

The quarrel he made with *Apollo* about *Muſick*, and the event thereof contains a wholſome inſtruction, which may ſerve to reſtrain men's Reaſons and Judgments with Reins of Sobriety, from boaſting and glorying in their gifts. For there ſeems to be a twofold Harmony, or Muſick; the one of Divine Providence, and the other of Humane Judgment, the Adminiſtration of the World and Creatures therein, and the more ſecret Judgments of God, ſound very hard and harſh; which folly, albeit it be well ſet out with Aſſes Ears; yet notwithſtanding theſe Ears are ſecret, and do not openly appear, neither is it perceived or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, It is not to be wondred at, that there is nothing attributed unto *Pan* concerning Loves, but only of his marriage with *Echo:* For the World or Nature doth enjoy it ſelf, and in it ſelf all things elſe. Now he that loves would enjoy ſomething, but where there is enough, there is no place left to deſire. Therefore there can be no wanting love in *Pan*, or the World, nor deſire to obtain any thing (ſeeing he is contented with himſelf) but only Speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the *Nymph Echo*, or if more quaint by *Syrinx*. It is an excellent invention that *Pan*, or the World is ſaid to make choice of *Echo* only (above all other Speeches or Voices) for his Wife: For that alone is true Philoſophy, which doth faithfully render the very words of the World; and it is written no otherwiſe than the World doth dictate, it being nothing elſe but the Image or reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and reſounds. It belongs alſo to the ſufficiency or perfection of the World, that he begets no Iſſue; for the World doth generate in reſpect of its parts, but in reſpect of the whole, how can it generate, ſeeing without it there is no Body? Notwithſtanding all this, the Tale of that tatling Girl fathered upon *Pan*, may in very deed, with great Reaſon, be added to this Fable: For by her are repreſented thoſe vain and idle Paradoxes concerning the Nature of things which have been frequent in all Ages, and have filled the World with Novelties; Fruitleſs, if you reſpect the matter; Changlings if you reſpect the kind, ſometimes creating Pleaſure, ſometimes tedioufneſs with their overmuch pratling.

PERSEUS, or War.

PERSEUS is ſaid to have been employed by *Pallas*, for the deſtroying of *Meduſa*, who was very infeſtuous to the Weſtern Parts of the World, and eſpecially about the utmoſt Coaſts of *Hiberia*. A Monſter ſo dire and horrid, that by her only aſpect ſhe turned Men into Stones. This *Meduſa* alone of all the *Gorgons* was mortal, the reſt not ſubject to Death. *Perſeus* therefore preparing himſelf for this noble enterpriſe, had Arms and Gifts beſtowed on him by three of the Gods: *Mercury* gave him Wings annexed to his Heels, *Pluto* a Helmet, *Pallas* a Shield and a Looking-Glaſs. Notwithſtanding (although he were thus furniſhed) he went not directly to *Meduſa*, but firſt to the *Greæ*, which by the Mothers ſide were Siſters to the *Gorgons*. Theſe *Greæ* from their Birth were Hoar-headed, reſembling old Women. They had but one only Eye, and one Tooth among them all; both which, ſhe that had occaſion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This Eye and Tooth they lent to *Perſeus*; and ſo finding himſelf throughly furniſhed for the effecting of his deſign, haſtens towards *Meduſa*. Her he found ſleeping, and yet durſt not preſent himſelf with his Face towards her, leſt ſhe ſhould awake; but turning his head aſide, beheld her in *Pallas*'s Glaſs, and (by this means directing his blow) cut off her head; from whoſe Blood guſhing out, inſtantly came *Pegaſus*, the Flying-Horſe. Her head thus ſmote off, *Perſeus* beſtows on *Pallas* her Shield, which yet retained this vertue, that whatſoever looked upon it, ſhould become as ſtupid as a Stone, or like one Planet-ſtrucken.

This Fable ſeems to direct the preparation and order, that is to be uſed in making of War; for the more apt and conſiderate undertaking whereof, three grave and wholeſome

wholeſome Precepts (ſavouring of the wiſdom of *Pallas*) are to be obſerved.

Firſt, That men do not much trouble themſelves about the Conqueſt of Neighbour Nations, ſeeing that private poſſeſſions and Empires are enlarged by different means: For in the augmentation of private Revenues, the vicinity of mens Territories is to be conſidered; but in the propagation of Publick Dominions, the occaſion and facility of making War, and the Fruit to be expected ought to be inſtead of vicinity. Certainly the *Romans*, what time their Conqueſts towards the Weſt ſcarce reacht beyond *Liguria*, did yet in the Eaſt bring all the Provinces as far as the Mountain *Taurus* within the compaſs of their Arms and Command; and therefore *Perſeus*, although he were bred and born in the Eaſt, did not yet refuſe to undertake an expedition even to the uttermoſt bounds of the Weſt.

Secondly, There muſt be a care had that the Motives of War be juſt and honourable, for that begets an alacrity, as well in the Soldiers that fight, as in the people that pay, it draws on and procures Aids, and brings many other Commodities beſides. But there is no pretence to take up Arms more pious, than the ſuppreſſing of Tyranny; under which yoke, the people loſe their courage, and are caſt down without heart and vigor, as in the ſight of *Meduſa*.

Thirdly, It is wiſely added, that ſeeing there were three *Gorgons* (by which Wars are repreſented) *Perſeus* undertook her only that was mortal; that is, he made choice of ſuch a kind of War as was likely to be effected and brought to a period, not purſuing vaſt and endleſs hopes.

The furniſhing of *Perſeus* with neceſſaries was that which only advanced his attempt, and drew *Fortune* to be of his ſide; for he had ſpeed from *Mercury*, concealing of his Counſels from *Orcus*, and *Providence* from *Pallas*.

Neither is it without an Allegory, and that full of matter too, that thoſe Wings of Celerity were faſtned to *Perſeus* his Heels, and not to his Ankles, to his Feet, and not to his Shoulders; becauſe ſpeed and celerity is required, not ſo much in the firſt preparations for War, as in thoſe things which ſecond and yield aid to the firſt; for there is no Error in War more frequent, than that Proſecutions and Subſidiary forces do fail to anſwer the alacrity of the firſt onſets.

Now for that Helmet which *Pluto* gave him, powerful to make men inviſible, the Moral is plain; but that twofold gift of Providence (to wit, the Shield and Looking Glaſs) is full of Morality; for that kind of Providence, which like a Shield avoids the force of blows, is not alone needful, but that alſo by which the ſtrength and motions, and Counſels of the Enemy are deſcryed, as in the Looking Glaſs of *Pallas*.

But *Perſeus*, albeit he were ſufficiently furniſhed with aid and courage, yet was he to do one thing of ſpecial importance before he entred the Liſts with this Monſter, and that was to have ſome intelligence with the *Greæ*. Theſe *Greæ* are Treaſons which may be termed the Siſters of War not deſcended of the ſame ſtock, but far unlike in Nobility of Birth; for Wars are generous and heroical, but Treaſons are baſe and ignoble. Their deſcription is elegant, for they are ſaid to be Gray-headed, and like old Women from their Birth; by reaſon that Traytors are continually vext with cares and trepidations. But all their ſtrength (before they break out into open Rebellions) conſiſts either in an Eye or in a Tooth; for every faction alienated from any State, contemplates and bites. Beſides, this Eye and Tooth is as it were common; for whatſoever they can learn and know, is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of Faction. And as concerning the Tooth, they do all bite alike, and ſing the ſame ſong; ſo that hear one, and you hear all. *Perſeus* therefore was to deal with theſe *Greæ* for the love of their

Eye

Eye and Tooth. Their Eye to diſcover, their Tooth to ſow rumors and ſtir up envy, and to moleſt and trouble the Minds of men. Theſe things therefore being thus diſpoſed and prepared, he addreſſes himſelf to the Action of War, and ſets upon *Meduſa* as ſhe ſlept; for a wiſe Captain will ever aſſault his Enemy, when he is unprepared and moſt ſecure; and then is there good uſe of *Pallas* her Glaſs: For moſt men, before it come to the puſh, can acutely pry into and diſcern their Enemies eſtate; but the beſt uſe of this Glaſs is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be ſo conſidered, as that the terror may not diſcourage, which is ſignified by that looking into this Glaſs with the face turned from *Meduſa*.

The Monſter's Head being cut off, there follow two effects. The firſt was, the procreation and raiſing of *Pegaſus*, by which may be evidently underſtood *Fame*, that (flying thorough the World) proclaims Victory. The ſecond is the bearing of *Meduſa*'s Head in his Shield; to which there is no kind of defence for excellency comparable; for the one famous and memorable act proſperouſly effected and brought to paſs, doth reſtrain the Motions and Inſolencies of Enemies, and makes Envy her ſelf ſilent and amazed.

ENDYMION, or a Favourite.

IT is ſaid, that *Luna* was in love with the Shepherd *Endymion*, and in a ſtrange and unwonted manner bewrayed her affection: For he lying in a Cave framed by Nature under the Mountain *Latmus*, ſhe oftentimes deſcended from her Sphere to enjoy his company as he ſlept; and after ſhe had kiſſed him, aſcended up again. Yet notwithſtanding this his idleneſs, and ſleepy ſecurity, did not any way impair his Eſtate or Fortune; for *Luna* brought it ſo to paſs, that he

alone (of all the reſt of the Shepherds) had his Flock in beſt plight, and moſt fruitful.

This Fable may have reference to the nature and diſpoſitions of Princes; for they being full of doubts, and prone to jealouſie, do not eaſily acquaint Men of prying and curious Eyes, and as it were of vigilant and wakeful diſpoſitions, with the ſecret humours and manners of their life; but ſuch rather as are of quiet and obſervant Natures, ſuffering them to do what they liſt without further ſcanting, making as if they were ignorant, and perceiving nothing but of a ſtupid diſpoſition, and poſſeſt with ſleep, yielding unto them ſimple obedience, rather than ſlie complements; For it pleaſeth Princes now and then to deſcend from their Thrones or Majeſty (like *Luna* from the ſuperior Orb) and laying aſide their Robes of Dignity (which always to be cumbred with, would ſeem a kind of burthen) familiarly to converſe with Men of this condition, which they think may be done without danger; a quality chiefly noted in *Tiberius Cæſar*, who (of all others) was a Prince moſt ſevere; yet ſuch only were gracious in his favour, as being well acquainted with his diſpoſition, did yet conſtantly diſſemble, as if they knew nothing. This was the Cuſtom alſo of *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, a cautious and wily Prince.

Neither is it without elegancy, that the cauſe of *Endymion* is mentioned in the Fable, becauſe that it is a thing uſual with ſuch as are the Favourites of Princes, to have certain pleaſant retiring places, whither to invite them for recreation both of Body and Mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to their Fortunes alſo. And indeed theſe kind of Favourites are Men commonly well to paſs; for Princes, although peradventure they promote them not ever to Places of Honour, yet do they advance them ſufficiently by their favour and countenance: Neither do they affect them thus, only to ſerve their own turn; but are wont to inrich

inrich them now and then with great Dignities, and Bounties.

The Siſter of the GIANTS, or Fame.

IT is a Poetical Relation, that the Giants begotten of the Earth, made War upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods; and by the force of Lightning, they were reſiſted and overthrown. Whereat the Earth being excitated to wrath, in revenge of her Children brought forth *Fame*, the youngeſt Siſter of the Giants.

Illam terra parens ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut prohibent) Cæo Enceladoque ſororem
Progenuit ——

Provok'd by wrathful Gods, the Mother Earth
Gives *Fame*, the Giants youngeſt Siſter, Birth.

The meaning of the Fable ſeems to be thus: By the Earth, is ſignified the Nature of the Vulgar, always ſwoln and malignant, and ſtill broaching new ſcandals againſt Superiors, and having gotten fit opportunity ſtirs up Rebels and Seditious Perſons, that with impious courage do moleſt Princes, and endeavour to ſubvert their Eſtates; but being ſuppreſt, the ſame natural diſpoſition of the People ſtill leaning to the viler ſort, (being impatient of Peace and Tranquility,) ſpread Rumours, raiſe malicious Slanders, repining Whiſperings, infamous Libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in Authority: So as Rebellious Actions, and Seditious Reports, differ nothing in kind and Blood, but as it were in Sex only; the one ſort being Maſculine, and the other Feminine.

ACTÆON and PENTHEUS, or a Curious Man.

THe curioſity of Men, in prying into ſecrets, and coveting with an undiſcreet deſire to attain the knowledge of things forbidden, is ſet forth by the Ancients in two other Examples: The one of *Actæon*, the other of *Pentheus*.

Actæon having unawares, and as it were by chance beheld *Diana* naked, was turned into a Stag, and devoured by his own Dogs.

And *Pentheus* climbing up into a Tree, with a deſire to be a ſpectator of the hidden ſacrifices of *Bacchus*, was ſtrucken with ſuch a kind of frenſie, as that whatſoever he lookt upon, he thought it always double, ſuppoſing (among other things) he ſaw two *Suns*, and two *Thebes*; inſomuch that running towards *Thebes*, ſpying another *Thebes*, inſtantly turned back again, and ſo kept ſtill running forward and backward with perpetual unreſt.

Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus,
Et Solem geminum, duplices ſe oſtendere Thebas.

Pentheus amaz'd, doth troops of furies ſpie;
And Sun, and *Thebes* ſeem double to his Eye.

The firſt of the Fables pertains to the ſecrets of Princes, the ſecond to Divine Myſteries. For thoſe that are near about Princes, and come to the knowledge of more ſecrets than they would have them, do certainly incur great hatred. And therefore, (ſuſpecting that they are ſhot at, and opportunities watcht for their overthrow,) do lead their lives like Stags, fearful and full of ſuſpicion. And it happens oftentimes that their Servants, and thoſe of their Houſhold, (to inſinuate into

into the Prince's favour) do accuſe them to their deſtruction; for againſt whomſoever the *Princes* diſpleaſure is known, look how many ſervants that Man hath, and you ſhall find them for the moſt part ſo many Traytors unto him, that his end may prove to be like *Actæon's*.

The other is the miſery of *Pentheus*: For that by the height of Knowledge and Nature in Philoſophy, having climbed, as it were, into a Tree, do with raſh attempts (unmindful of their frailty) pry into the ſecrets of Divine Myſteries, and are juſtly plagued with perpetual inconſtancy, and with wavering and perplexed conceits: For ſeeing the light of Nature is one thing, and of Grace another; it happens ſo to them as if they ſaw two *Suns*. And ſeeing the Actions of Life, and degrees of the Will to depend on the Underſtanding, it follows that they doubt, are inconſtant no leſs in Will than in Opinion; and ſo in like manner they may be ſaid to ſee two *Thebes*: For by *Thebes* (ſeeing there was the habitation and refuge of *Pentheus*) is meant the end of Actions. Hence it comes to paſs that they know not whither they go, but as diſtracted and unreſolved in the ſcope of their intentions, are in all things carried about with ſudden Paſſions of the Mind.

ORPHEUS, or Philoſophy.

THe tale of *Orpheus*, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every point. It may ſeem to repreſent the Image of Philoſophy: For the Perſon of *Orpheus* (a Man admirable and divine, and ſo excellently skilled in all kind of harmony, that with his ſweet raviſhing Muſick he did as it were charm and allure all things to follow him) may carry a ſingular deſcription of Philoſophy: For the labours

bours of *Orpheus* do ſo far exceed the labours of *Hercules* in dignity and efficacy, as the Works of Wiſdom, excel the Works of Fortitude.

Orpheus for the love he bare to his Wife, ſnatcht, as it were, from him by untimely Death, reſolved to go down to Hell with his Harp, to try if he might obtain her of the infernal power. Neither were his hopes fruſtrated: For having appeaſed them with the melodious ſound of his voice and touch, prevailed at length ſo far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him; but on this condition, that ſhe ſhould follow him, and he not to look back upon her, till he came to the light of the upper World; which he (impatient of, out of love and care, and thinking that he was in a manner paſt all danger) nevertheleſs violated, inſomuch that the Covenant is broken, and ſhe forthwith tumbles back again headlong into Hell. *Orpheus* falling into a deep melancholy, became a contemner of Women kind, and bequeathed himſelf, to a ſolitary life in the Deſarts; where, by the ſame melody of his voice and Harp, he firſt drew all manner of wild Beaſts unto him, (who forgetful of their ſavage fierceneſs, and caſting off the precipitate provocations of luſt and fury, not caring to ſatiate their voracity by hunting after prey) as at a *Theatre* in fawning and reconciled amity one towards another, ſtanding all at the gaze about him, and attentively lend their Ears to his Muſick. Neither is this all; for ſo great was the power and alluding force of this harmony, that he drew the Woods, and moved the very Stones to come and place themſelves in an orderly and decent faſhion about him. Theſe things ſucceeding happily, and with great admiration for a time; at length certain *Thracian* Women (poſſeſt with the ſpirit of *Bacchus*,) made ſuch a horrid and ſtrange noiſe with their Cornets, that the ſound of *Orpheus*s Harp could no more be heard, inſomuch as that harmony, which was the bond of that Order and Society being diſſolved,

diſſolved, all diſorder began again; and the Beaſts (returning to their wonted Nature) purſued one another unto Death as before: Neither did the Trees or Stones remain any longer in their places: And *Orpheus* himſelf was by theſe Female furies torn in pieces, and ſcattered all over the Deſart. For whoſe cruel Death the River *Helicon* (ſacred to the Muſes) in horrible indignation, hid his Head under ground, and raiſed it again in another place.

The meaning of this Fable ſeems to be thus: *Orpheus*'s Muſick is of two ſorts, the one appeaſing the Infernal Powers, the other attracting Beaſts and Trees, The firſt may be fitly applied to Natural Philoſophy, the ſecond to Moral or Civil Diſcipline.

The moſt noble work of Natural Philoſophy, is the Reſtitution and Renovation of things corruptible; the other (as a leſſer degree of it) the Preſervation of Bodies in their Eſtates, detaining them from diſſolution and putrefaction; and if this gift may be in Mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquiſite temper of Nature, as by the melody and delicate touch of an Inſtrument. But ſeeing it is of all things moſt difficult, it is ſeldom or never attained unto; and in all likelihood for no other reaſon, more than through curious diligence and untimely impatience. And therefore Philoſophy hardly able to produce ſo excellent an effect in a penſive humour, (and that without cauſe) buſies her ſelf about Humane Objects, and by Perſuaſion and Eloquence, inſinuating the love of Vertue, Equity, and Concord in the minds of Men; draws multitudes of People to a Society, makes them ſubjects to Laws, obedient to Government, and forgetful of their unbridled Affections, whil'ſt they give ear to Precepts, and ſubmit themſelves to Diſcipline; whence follows the building of Houſes, erecting of Towns, planting of Fields and Orchards, with Trees and the like, inſomuch that it would not be amiſs to ſay, That even thereby Stones and Woods

were

were called together and ſetled in order. And after ſerious trial made and fruſtrated about the reſtoring of a body mortal; this care of Civil affairs follows in his due place: becauſe by a plain demonſtration of the unevitable neceſſity of death, Mens minds are moved to ſeek Eternity by the fame and glory of their Merits. It is alſo wiſely ſaid in the Fable, that *Orpheus* was averſe from the love of Women and Marriage, becauſe the delights of Wedlock and the love of Children do for the moſt part hinder Men from enterpriſing great and noble deſigns for the publick good, holding Poſterity a ſufficient ſtep to Immortality without Actions.

Beſides even the very works of Wiſdom (although amongſt all Humane things they do moſt excel) do nevertheleſs meet with their periods. For it happens that (after Kingdoms and Commonwealths have flouriſhed for a time) even Tumults, and Seditions, and Wars ariſe; in the mid'ſt of which hurly-burlies, firſt Laws are ſilent, Men return to the pravity of their Natures; Fields and Towns are waſted and depopulated; and then (if their fury continue) Learning and Philoſophy muſt needs be diſ-membred; ſo that a few Fragments only, and in ſome places will be found like the ſcattered Boards of Shipwrack, ſo as a barbarous Age muſt follow; and the Streams of *Hellicon* being hid under the Earth, (untill the Viciſſitude of things paſſing,) they break out again, and appear in ſome other remote Nation, though not perhaps in the ſame Climate.

COELUM, or Beginnings.

WE have it from the Poets by Tradition, that *Coelum* was the Ancienteſt of the Gods, and that his Members of Generation were cut off by his Son *Saturn*. *Saturn* had many Children, but devoured them as ſoon as they were born; *Jupiter* only eſcapt, who being come

come to Man's eſtate, thruſt *Saturn* his Father into Hell, and ſo uſurped the Kingdom. Moreover he pared off his Father's Genitals with the ſame Faulchion that *Saturn* diſmembred *Cælum*, and caſt them into the Sea; from whence came *Venus*. Not long after this, (*Jupiter* being ſcarce ſetled and confirmed in this Kingdom) was invaded by two memorable Wars. The firſt of the *Titans*, in the ſuppreſſing of which *Sol* (who alone of all the *Titans* Favouring *Jupiter's* ſide) took exceeding great pains. The ſecond was of the Giants, whom *Jupiter* himſelf deſtroyed with Thunderbolts: and ſo all Wars being ended, he reigned ſecure.

This Fable ſeems enigmatically to ſhew from whence all things took their beginning, not much differing from that Opinion of Philoſophers, which *Democritus* afterwards laboured to maintain, attributing Eternity to the firſt Matter, and not to the World. In which he comes ſomewhat near the truth of Divine Writ, telling us of a huge deformed Maſs, before the beginning of the ſix days Work.

The meaning of the Fable is this: By *Cælum* may be underſtood that vaſt concavity, or vaulted compaſs that comprehends all Matter: and by *Saturn* may be meant the matter it ſelf, which takes from his Parent all power of generating; for the univerſality or whole Bulk of Matter always remains the ſame, neither increaſing or diminiſhing in reſpect of the quality of its Nature: But by the Divers agitations and motions of it, were firſt produced imperfect, and ill agreeing compoſitions of things, making as it were certain Worlds for Proofs or Eſſays, and ſo in proceſs of time a perfect Fabrick or Structure was framed, which ſhould ſtill retain and keep his form. And therefore the Government of the firſt Age was ſhadowed by the Kingdom of *Saturn*, who for the frequent diſſolutions and ſhort continuances of things was aptly feigned to devour his Children. The ſucceeding Government was decyphered by the Reign of *Jupiter*, who confined

thoſe

those continual Mutations unto *Tartarus*, a place signifying Perturbation. This place seems to be all that middle place between the lower superficies of Heaven, and the Centre of the Earth: in which all perturbations, and fragility, and mortality or corruption are frequent. During the former Generation of things in the time of *Saturn*'s Reign, *Venus* was not born: for so long as in the universality of Matter, Discord was better and more prevalent than Concord, it was necessary that there should be total dissolution or mutation, and that in the whole Fabrick. And by this kind of Generation were Creatures produced before *Saturn* was deprived of his Genitals. When this ceased, that other which wrought by *Venus*, immediately came in, consisting in setled and prevalent concord of things, so that Mutation should be only in respect of the parts, the universal Fabrick remaining whole and inviolate.

Saturn, they say, was deposed and cast down into Hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguisht; because there was an Opinion that the World should relapse into the old *Chaos* and *interregnum* again, which *Lucretius* prayed might not happen in his time:

Quod procul à nobis flectat fortuna gubernans:
Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa.

Of guiding Providence be gracious,
That this Dooms-day be far remov'd from us;
And grant, that by us it may be expected,
Rather than on us, in our times effected.

For afterwards the World should subsist by its own quantity, and power. Yet from the beginning there was no rest: for in the Celestial Regions there first followed notable Mutations, which by the power of the *Sun*, (predominating over superiour Bodies) were so quieted, that the state of the World should be conserved: and afterwards (in inferior Bodies) by the suppressing

preſſing and diſſipating of Inundations, Tempeſts, Winds, and general Earthquakes, a more peaceable durable Agreement and Tranquility of things followed. But of this Fable it may convertibly be ſaid, That the Fable contains Philoſophy, and Philoſophy again the Fable: For we know by Faith, that all theſe things are nothing elſe but the long ſince ceaſing and failing Oracles of Senſe, ſeeing that both the Matter and Fabrick of the World are moſt truly referred to a Creator.

PROTEUS, or Matter.

THE Poets ſay that *Proteus* was *Neptune*'s Herds-man, a grave Sire, and ſo excellent a Prophet, that he might well be termed thrice excellent: for he knew not only things to come, but even things paſt as well as preſent; ſo that beſides his skill in Divination, he was the Meſſenger and Interpreter of all Antiquities and hidden Myſteries. The place of his abode was a huge vaſt Cave, where his Cuſtom was every day at noon to count his Flock of Sea-calves, and then to go to ſleep. Moreover he that deſired his advice in any thing, could by no other means obtain it, but by catching him in Manacles, and holding him faſt therewith; who nevertheleſs to be at liberty would turn himſelf into all manner of Forms and Wonders of Nature; ſometimes into Fire, ſometimes into Water, ſometimes into the ſhape of Beaſts, and the like; till at length he were reſtored to his own Form again.

This Fable may ſeem to unfold the ſecrets of Nature and the properties of *Matter*. For under the Perſon of *Proteus*, the firſt Matter (which next to God is the Ancienteſt thing) may be repreſented: For Matter dwells in the concavity of Heaven, as in a Cave.

He is *Neptune*'s bond-man, becauſe the Operations and Diſpenſations of Matter are chiefly exerciſed in liquid Bodies. His

His Flock or Herd seems to be nothing but the ordinary *Species* of sensible Creatures, Plants and Metals, in which Matter seems to diffuse and as it were spend it self; so that after the forming and perfecting of these Kinds, (having ended as it were her Task,) she seems to sleep and take her rest, not attempting the composition of any more *Species*. And this may be the Moral of *Proteus* his counting of his Flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the morning, nor in the evening, but at noon; to wit, at such time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of *Species* out of Matter, duly prepared and prediſpoſed, and in the middle, as it were between their beginning and declinations, which we know sufficiently (out of the Holy History) to be done about the time of the Creation: for then by the power of that Divine Word (*Producat,*) *Matter* at the Creator's command did congregate it self (not by ambages or turnings, but instantly) to the production of its work into an Act and Constitution of *Species*. And thus far have we the Narration of *Proteus*, (free and unrestrained,) together with his Flock compleat: for the universality of things, with their ordinary Structures and Compositions of *Species*, bears the face of matter, not limited and constrained, and of the Flock also of material beings. Nevertheless if any expert Minister of Nature, shall encounter Matter by main force, vexing and urging her with intent and purpose to reduce her to nothing; she contrariwise (seeing annihilation and absolute destruction cannot be effected by the Omnipotency of God) being thus caught in the straits of necessity, doth change and turn her self into divers strange Forms and Shapes of things, so that at length (by fetching a circuit as it were) she comes to a period, and (if the force continue) betakes her self to her former being. The reason of which constraint or binding, will be more facile

cile and expedite, if matter be laid hold on by Manacles, that is, Extremities.

Now whereas it is feigned that *Proteus* was a Prophet, well skilled in three differences of Times, it hath an excellent Agreement with the Nature of Matter: for it is neceſſary that he that will know the Properties and Proceedings of Matter, ſhould comprehend in his Underſtanding the ſum of all things, which have been, which are, or which ſhall be, although no Knowledge can extend ſo far as to ſingular, and individual Beings.

MEMNON, or a Youth too forward.

THe Poets ſay, that *Memnon* was the Son of *Aurora*, who (adorned with beautiful Armour, and animated with popular Applauſe,) came to the *Trojan War*; where (in raſh Boldneſs, haſting unto, and thirſting after Glory,) he enters into ſingle Combat with *Achilles*, the valianteſt of all the *Græcians*, by whoſe powerful hand he was there ſlain. But *Jupiter* pitying his deſtruction, ſent Birds to modulate certain lamentable, and doleful Notes at the Solemnization of his Funeral Obſequies. Whoſe Statue alſo (the Sun reflecting on it with his Morning Beams) did uſually, as is reported ſend forth a mournful Sound.

This Fable may be applied to the unfortunate deſtinies of hopeful young Men, who like the Sons of *Aurora*, (puffed up with the glittering ſhew of vanity, and oſtentation,) attempt actions above their ſtrength, and provoke, and preſs the moſt valiant *Heroes* to combate with them; ſo that (meeting with their overmatch) they are vanquiſhed, and deſtroyed; whoſe untimely Death is oft accompanied with much pity and commiſeration. For among all the Diſaſters that can happen to Mortals, there is none ſo lamentable,

and ſo powerful to move compaſſion, as the flower of Vertue cropt with too ſudden a Miſchance. Neither hath it been often known that Men in their green years become ſo loathſome, and odious, as that at their Deaths either Sorrow is ſtinted, or Commiſeration moderated; but that Lamentation and Mourning do not only flutter about their Obſequies, like thoſe Funeral Birds; but this pitiful Commiſeration doth continue for a long ſpace, and ſpecially by Occaſions, and new Motions, and beginning of great Matters, as it were by the Morning-Rays of the *Sun*, their Paſſions and Deſires are renewed.

TITHONUS, or Satiety.

IT is elegantly feigned, that *Tithonus* was the Paramour of *Aurora*, who (deſirous to enjoy his Company) petitioned *Jupiter* that he might never die; but, (through Womaniſh overſight) forgetting to inſert this clauſe in her Petition, that he might not withal grow old, and feeble; it followed that he was only freed from the condition of Mortality; but for old Age, that came upon him in a marvellous, and miſerable faſhion, agreeable to the ſtate of thoſe who cannot die, yet every day grow weaker and weaker with Age: Inſomuch that *Jupiter* in commiſeration of that his Miſery,) did at length metamorphoſe him into a Graſs-hopper.

This Fable ſeems to be an ingenious Character, or Deſcription of Pleaſure, which in the beginning, and as it were, in the morning, ſeems to be pleaſant and delightful, that Men deſire they might enjoy, and monopolize it for ever unto themſelves, unmindful of that Satiety, and Loathing, which (like old age,) will come upon them before they be aware. And ſo at laſt, (when the uſe of Pleaſure leaves Men, the Deſire

and

and Affection not yet yielding unto Death,) it comes to paſs that Men pleaſe themſelves only by talking, and commemorating thoſe things which brought pleaſure unto them in the flower of their Age, which may be obſerved in libidinous Perſons, and alſo in Men of Military Profeſſions; the one delighting in beaſtly Talk, the other boaſting of their valorous Deeds, like Graſs-hoppers, whoſe Vigour conſiſts only in their Voice.

JUNO'S SUITOR, or Baſeneſs.

THe Poets ſay, that *Jupiter*, to enjoy his luſtful Delights, took upon him the ſhape of ſundry Creatures, as of a Bull, of an Eagle, of a Swan, and of a Golden Shower; but being a Suitor to *Juno*, he came in a Form moſt ignoble and baſe, an Object full of contempt and ſcorn, reſembling indeed a miſerable *Cuckow*, weather beaten with Rain and Tempeſt, numb'd, quaking, and half dead with Cold.

This Fable is wiſe, and ſeems to be taken out of the Bowels of Morality; the ſenſe of it being this, That Men boaſt not too much of themſelves, thinking by oſtentation of their own worth, to inſinuate themſelves into eſtimation and favour with Men. The ſucceſs of ſuch intentions being for the moſt part meaſured by the nature and diſpoſition of thoſe to whom Men ſue for Grace; who, if of themſelves they be endowed with no gifts and Ornaments of Nature, but are only of haughty and malignant Spirits, (intimated by the Perſon of *Juno*,) then are Suitors to know that it is good policy to omit all kind of appearance that may any way ſhew their own leaſt Praiſe or Worth; and that they much deceive themſelves in taking any other courſe. Neither is it enough to ſhew deformity

in Obſequiouſneſs, unleſs they alſo appear even abject and baſe in their very Perſons.

CUPID, or an Atom.

THat which the Poets ſay of *Cupid*, or *Love*, cannot properly be attributed to one and the ſelf ſame Perſon; and yet the difference is ſuch, that (by rejecting the Confuſion of Perſons,) the Similitude may be received.

They ſay, that *Love* is the ancienteſt of all the Gods, and of all things elſe except *Chaos*, which they hold to be a Contemporary with it. Now as touching *Chaos*, that by the Ancients was never dignified with Divine Honour, or with the Title of the God. And as for *Love*, they abſolutely bring him in without a Father; only ſome are of opinion, that he came of an Egg that was laid by *Nox*, and that on *Chaos* he begat the God, and all things elſe. There are four things attributed to him, perpetual Infancy, Blindneſs, Nakedneſs, and an Archery. There was alſo another *Love*, which was the youngeſt of the Gods, and he, they ſay, was the Son of *Venus*. On this alſo they beſtow the Attributes of the elder *Love*, as in ſome ſort we'll apply unto him.

This Fable tends, and looks to the Cradle of *Nature*, *Love* ſeeming to be the appetite or deſire of the firſt Matter, or (to ſpeak more plain) the natural motion of the *Atom*, which is that Ancient and only Power that Forms and Faſhions all things out of Matter, of which there is no Parent, that is to ſay, no Cauſe, ſeeing every Cauſe is as a Parent to its effect. Of this power or virtue there can be no Cauſe in Nature (as for *God*, we always except him,) for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient Cauſe of it. Neither was there any thing better known to Nature, and therefore neither

ther *Genus* nor *Form*. Wherefore whatſoever it is, poſitive it is, and but inexpreſſible. Moreover, if the manner and proceeding of it were to be conceived, yet could it not be by any Cauſe, ſeeing that (next unto God,) it is the Cauſe of Cauſes, it ſelf only without any Cauſe. And perchance there is no likelihood that the manner of it may be contained or comprehended within the narrow compaſs of humane ſearch. Not without reaſon therefore it is feign'd to come of an Egg which was laid by *Nox*. *Certainly* the Divine Philoſopher grants ſo much.

Eccl. 3. 11. *Cuncta fecit tempeſtatibus ſuis pulchra, & mundum tradidit diſputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniat homo opus, quod operatus eſt Deus, principio ad finem.* That is, he hath made every thing beautiful in their Seaſons, alſo he hath ſet the World in their Meditations; yet Man cannot find the Work that God hath wrought, from the beginning even to the end: For the principal Law of Nature, or Power of this Deſire, created (by God,) in theſe parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together, (from whoſe Repetitions and Multiplications all Variety of Creatures proceeded, and were compoſed,) may dazle the Eyes of Men's Underſtandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The *Greek* Philoſophers are obſerved to be very acute and diligent in ſearching out the material Principles of things; but in the beginnings of motion (wherein conſiſts all the efficacy of operation,) they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they ſeem to be altogether blind, and ſtammering; for the Opinion of the *Peripatericks* concerning the appetite of Matter, cauſed by privation, is in a manner nothing elſe but Words, which rather ſound, than ſignifie any Reality. And thoſe that refer it unto God, do very well; but then they leap up, they aſcend not by degrees; for doubtleſs there is one chief Law ſubordinate to God, in which all natural things concur and meet, the ſame that in the fore-cited Scripture is demonſtrated in theſe

Words, *Opus quod operatus eſt Deus à principio uſque ad finem*; the Work that God hath wrought from the beginning even to the end. But *Democritus*, which entred more deeply into the conſideration of this point, after he had conceived an *Atom*, with ſome ſmall dimenſion and form, he attributed unto it one only deſire, or firſt motion, ſimply, or abſolutely, and another comparatively, or in reſpect; for he thought that all things did properly tend to the Centre of the World, whereof thoſe Bodies which were more material, deſcend with ſwifter motion, and thoſe that had leſs Matter, did, on the contrary, tend upward. But this Meditation was very ſhallow, containing leſs than was expedient; for neither the turning of the Celeſtial Bodies in a round, nor ſhutting and opening of things, may ſeem to be reduced or applied to this beginning. And as for that opinion of *Epicurus*, concerning the caſual declination and agitation of the *Atom*, it is but a mere Toy, and a plain evidence, that he was ignorant of that Point. It is therefore more apparent (than we could wiſh,) that this *Cupid*, or Love, remains as yet clouded under the ſhades of *Night*. Now as concerning his Attributes; He is elegantly deſcribed with perpetual Infancy, or Childhood; becauſe compound Bodies they ſeem greater, and more ſtricken in years: Whereas the firſt Seeds of things, or *Atoms*, they are little, and diminute, and alſo in their Infancy.

He is alſo well feigned to be naked, becauſe all compound Bodies, to a Man rightly judging, ſeem to be apparelled and cloathed, and nothing to be properly naked but the firſt Particles of things.

Concerning his Blindneſs, the Allegory is full of Wiſdom; for this *Love*, or Deſire (whatſoever it be) ſeems to have but little Providence, as directing his pace and motion by that which it perceives neareſt; not unlike blind men that go by feeling: More admirable then, muſt that chief divine Providence, be, which (from things empty and deſtitute of Providence, and

as

as it were, blind,) by a conſtant and fatal Law, produceth ſo excellent an Order and Beauty of Things.

The laſt Thing which is attributed to *Love*, is *Archery*; by which is meant, that his Virtue is ſuch, as that it works upon a diſtant Object; becauſe that whatſoever operates afar off, ſeems to ſhoot, as it were, an Arrow. Wherefore whoſoever holds the Being both of *Atoms* and *Vacuity*, muſt needs infer, that the Virtue of the *Atom* reacheth to a diſtant Object; for if it were not ſo, there could be no motion at all, by reaſon of the interpoſition of *Vacuity*; but all things would ſtand ſtone ſtill, and remain immoveable.

Now as touching that other *Cupid* or *Love*, he may well be termed the youngeſt of the Gods, becauſe he could have no being before the conſtitution of *Species*. And in his deſcription the Allegory may be applied and traduced to manners: Nevertheleſs he holds ſome kind of conformity with the Elder; for *Venus* doth generally ſtir up a deſire of Conjunction and Procreation, and *Cupid* her Son doth apply this deſire to ſome individual Nature; ſo that the general diſpoſition comes from *Venus*, the more exact ſympathy from *Cupid*: the one derived from Cauſes more near, the other from Beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder *Cupid*, of whom every exquiſite ſympathy doth depend.

DIOMEDES, or Zeal.

DIOMEDES flouriſhing with great Fame and Glory in the *Trojan* Wars, and in high Favour with *Pallas*, was by her inſtigated (being indeed forwarder than he ſhould have been) not to forbear *Venus* a jot, if he encountered with her in Fight; which very boldly he performed, wounding her in the right Arm. This preſumptuous Fact he carried clear for a

while, and being honoured and renowned for his many heroick Deeds, at laſt returned into his own Country, where finding himſelf hard beſtead with domeſtick Troubles, fled into *Italy*, betaking himſelf to the Protection of Foreigners where in the beginning he was fortunate and royally entertained by King *Daunus* with ſumptuous Gifts, raiſing many Statues in honour of him throughout his Dominions. But upon the very firſt Calamity that hapned unto this Nation whereunto he was fled for Succour, King *Daunus* enters into a conceit with himſelf that he had entertained a wicked Gueſt into his Family, and a Man odious to the Goddeſs, and an Impugner of their Divinity, that had dared, with his Sword, to aſſault and wound that Goddeſs, who, in their Religion, they held it Sacrilege ſo much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his Countrey's Guilt, (nothing reſpecting the Duties of Hoſpitality, when the Bonds of Religion tied him with a more reverend regard) ſuddenly ſlew *Diomedes*, commanding withal that his Trophies and Statues ſhould be aboliſhed and deſtroyed. Neither was it ſafe to lament this miſerable Deſtiny; but even his Companions in Arms, whilſt they mourned at the Funeral of their Captain, and filled all the places with Plaints and Lamentations, were ſuddenly metamorphoſed into Birds like unto Swans, who, when their Death approacheth, ſing melodious and mournful Hymns.

This Fable hath a moſt rare and ſingular Subject: For in any of the Poetical Records, wherein the *Heroes* are mentioned, we find not that any one of them, beſides *Diomedes*, did ever with his Sword offer Violence to any of the *Deities*. And indeed, the Fable ſeems in him to repreſent the nature and fortune of Man, who of himſelf, doth propound, and make this as the end of all his Actions, to worſhip ſome Divine Power, or to follow ſome Sect of Religion, though never ſo vain and ſuperſtitious, and with Force and Arms to defend

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the ſame: For although thoſe bloody Quarrels for Religion were unknown to Ancients, (the Heathen Gods not having ſo much as a touch of that Jealouſie, which is an Attribute of the true God,) yet the Wiſdom of the Antient Times ſeems to be ſo copious and full, as that, what was not known by Experience, was yet comprehended by Meditations and Fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any Sect of Religion, (though vain, corrupt, and infamous, ſhadowed by the Perſon of *Venus*,) not by the force of Argument and Doctrine, and Holineſs of Life, and by the weight of Examples and Authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by Fire and Sword, and Tortures, are encouraged, it may be, thereunto by *Pallas*; that is, by the Acrity of *Prudence*, and Severity of Judgment, by whoſe Vigour and Efficacy, they ſee into the Falſity and Vanity of theſe Errors. And by this their hatred of Pravity, and good zeal to Religion, they purchaſe to themſelves great Glory, and by the Vulgar (to whom nothing moderate can be grateful) are eſteemed and honoured as the only Supporters of Truth and Religion, when others ſeem to be luke-warm and full of Fear. Yet this Glory and Happineſs doth ſeldom endure to the end, ſeeing every violent Proſperity, if it prevent not alteration by an untimely Death grows to be unproſperous at laſt: For if it happen that by a change of Government, this baniſhed and depreſſed Sect get ſtrength, and ſo bear up again, then theſe zealous Men, ſo fierce in oppoſition before, are condemned, their very Names are hateful, and all their Glory ends in Obloquy.

In that *Diomedes* is ſaid to be murthered by his Hoſt, it gives us to underſtand that the difference of Religion breeds Deceit and Treachery, even among neareſt Acquaintance.

Now in that Lamentation and Mourning was not tolerated but puniſhed; it puts us in mind, that let there be never ſo nefarious an Act done, yet there is

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ſome place left for Commiſeration and Pity, that even thoſe that hate Offences, ſhould yet in Humanity commiſerate Offenders, and Pity their diſtreſs, it being the Extremity of Evil when Mercy is not ſuffered to have commerce with Miſery. Yea, even in the cauſe as well of Religion as Impiety, many Men may be noted and obſerved to have been compaſſionate. But on the contrary the complaints and moans of *Diomedes*'s Followers, that is, of Men of the ſame Sect and Opinion, are wont to be ſhrill and loud, like Swans or the Birds of *Diomedes*. In whom alſo that part of the Allegory is excellent to ſignifie that the laſt Words of thoſe that ſuffer Death for Religion, like the Songs of dying Swans, do wonderfully work upon the Minds of Men, and ſtrike and remain a long time in their Senſes and Memories.

DÆDALUS, or Mechanick.

MEchanical Wiſdom and Induſtry, and in it unlawful Science perverted to wrong ends, is ſhadowed by the Ancients under the Perſon of *Dædalus*, a Man ingenious, but execrable. This *Dædalus* (for murthering his fellow-ſervant that emulated him) being baniſhed, was kindly entertained (during his Exile) in many Cities and Princes Courts: For indeed he was the Raiſer and Builder of many goodly Structures, as well in honour of the Gods, as the Beauty and Magnificence of Cities, and other publick places, but for his Works of Miſchief he is moſt notorious. It is he that framed the Engine which *Paſiphae* uſed to ſatisfie her Luſt in company with a Bull; ſo that by his wretched Induſtry, and pernicious Device, that Monſter *Minotaur* (the deſtruction of ſo many hopeful Youths) took his accurſed and infamous beginning, and ſtudying to cover and increaſe one Miſchief

chief with another; for the ſecurity and preſervation of this Monſter he invented and built a Labyrinth, a Work for intent and uſe moſt nefarious and wicked, for Skill and Workmanſhip famous and excellent. Afterwards, that he might not be noted only for Works of Miſchief, but be ſought after as well for Remedies, as for Inſtruments of Deſtruction, he was the Author of that ingenious device concerning the Clew of Thread, by which the Labyrinth was made paſſable without any let. This *Dædalus* was perſecuted by *Minos* with great Severity, Diligence, and Inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and eſcape his Tyranny. Laſtly, he taught his Son *Icarus* to fly; but the Novice, in Oſtentation of this Art, ſoaring too high, fell into the Sea and was drowned.

The Parable ſeems to be thus: In the beginning of it may be noted that kind of Envy or Emulation that lodgeth, and wonderfully ſways and domineers amongſt excellent Artificers, there being no kind of People more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly Hatred than they.

The Baniſhment alſo of *Dædalus* (a puniſhment inflicted on him againſt the Rules of Policy and Providence) is worth the noting: For Artificers have this Prerogative to find entertainment and welcome in all Countries, ſo that Exile to an excellent Workman can hardly be termed a puniſhment, whereas other Conditions and States of Life can ſcarce live out of their own Countrey. The admiration of Artificers is propagated and increaſed in foreign and ſtrange Nations, ſeeing it is a natural and unbred diſpoſition of Men to value their own Countrey-men (in reſpect of Mechanical Works) leſs than Strangers.

Concerning the uſe of Mechanical Arts, that which follows is plain. The Life of Man is much beholden to them, ſeeing many Things (conducing to the Ornament of Religion, to the Grace of Civil Diſcipline, and to the beautifying of all Humane Kind) are extracted

tracted out of their Treaſuries: And yet notwithſtanding from the ſame *Magazine* or Store-houſe are produced Inſtruments both of Luſt and Death; for to omit the Wiles of Bands, we will know how far exquiſite Poyſons, Warlike Engines, and ſuch-like Miſchiefs (the effects of Mechanical Inventions) do exceed the *Minotaur* himſelf in Malignity and ſavage Cruelty.

Moreover that of the *Labyrinth* is an excellent Allegory, whereby is ſhadowed the nature of Mechanical Sciences; for all ſuch handicraft Works as are more ingenious and accurate, may be compared to a Labyrinth in reſpect of Subtilty and divers intricate Paſſages, and in other plain reſemblances, which by the Eye of Judgment can hardly be guided and diſcerned, but only by the Line of Experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which invented the intricate Nooks of the Labyrinth, did alſo ſhew the Commodity of the Clew: For Mechanical Arts are of ambiguous uſe, ſerving as well for hurt as for Remedy, and they have in a manner Power both to looſe and bind themſelves.

Unlawful Trades, and ſo by conſequence, Arts themſelves are often perſecuted by *Minos*, that is by Laws, which do condemn them, and prohibit Men to uſe them. Nevertheleſs they are hid and retained every where, finding lurking holes and places of Receipt, which was well obſerved by *Tacitus* of the Mathematicians and Figure-flingers of his time, in a thing not ſo much unlike; *Genus Hominum quod in Civitate noſtra ſemper & retinebitur & vetabitur.* There is a kind of Men that will always abide in our City, though always forbidden. And yet notwithſtanding unlawful and curious Arts of what kind ſoever, in tract of time, when they cannot perform what they promiſe, do fall from the good Opinion that was held of them, (no otherwiſe than *Icarus* fell down from the Skies,) they grow to be contemned and ſcorned, and ſo periſh by too much Oſtentation. And to ſay the Truth,

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they are not ſo happily ſtrairened by the Reins of Law, as bewrayed by their own Vanity.

ERICTHONIUS, or Impoſture.

THe Poets Fable that *Vulcan* ſolicited *Minerva* for her Virginity, and impatient of denial, with an inflamed deſire offered her violence, but in ſtruggling his Seed fell upon the Ground, whereof came *Erictho-nius*, whoſe Body from the middle upward, was of a comely and apt proportion, but his Thighs and Legs like the tail of an Eel, ſmall and deformed. To which Monſtroſity he being conſcious, became the firſt inventor of the uſe of Chariots, whereby that part of his Body which was well proportioned might be ſeen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This ſtrange and prodigious Fiction may ſeem to ſhew that Art which (for the great uſe it hath of Fire) is ſhadowed by *Vulcan*, although it labour by much ſtriving with corporeal ſubſtances to force Nature, and to make her ſubject to it, (ſhe being for her induſtrious Works rightly repreſented by *Minerva*;) yet ſeldom or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great pains (wreſtling as it were with her) comes ſhort of its purpoſe, and produceth certain imperfect Births and lame Works, fair to the Eye, but weak and defective in uſe, which many Impoſtors (with much ſubtilty and deceit) ſet to view, and carry about, as it were in triumph, as may for the moſt part be noted in Chymical productions, and other Mechanical ſubtilties and novelties, eſpecially when (rather perſecuting their intent, than reclining their Errors) they rather ſtrive to overcome Nature by force, than ſue for her Embracements by due obſequiouſneſs and obſervance.

DEUCALION,

DEUCALION, or Reſtitution.

THe Poets ſay, that (the People of the Old World being deſtroyed by a general Deluge) *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* were only left alive; who praying with fervent and zealous devotion, that they might know by what means to repair Mankind, had anſwer from an Oracle that they ſhould obtain what they deſired, if taking the Bones of their Mother they caſt them behind their Backs; which at firſt ſtruck them with great amazement and deſpair, ſeeing (all things being defaced by the Flood) it would be an endleſs work to find their Mothers Sepulchre, but at length they underſtood that by Bones the Stones of the Earth (ſeeing the Earth was the Mother of all things) were ſignified by the Oracle.

This Fable ſeems to reveal a ſecret of Nature, and to correct an error familiar to Men's conceits: For through want of knowledge Men think that things may take renovation and reſtauration from their putrefaction and dregs, no otherwiſe than the *Phœnix* from the Aſhes, which in no caſe can be admitted ſeeing ſuch kind of Materials, when they have fulfilled their periods, are unapt for the beginnings of ſuch things: We muſt therefore look back to more common Principles.

NEMESIS, or the Viciſſitude of things.

NEMESIS is ſaid to be a Goddeſs venerable unto all, but to be feared of none but Potentates and Fortunes favourites. She is thought to be the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Nox*. She is pourtraicted with Wings on her Shoulders, and on her Head a Coronet; bearing

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ing in her Right Hand a Javelin of *Aſh*, and in her left a Pitcher with the ſimilitudes of *Æthiopians* engraven on it; and laſtly, ſhe is deſcribed ſitting on an Hart.

The Parable may be thus unfolded. Her name *Nemeſis* doth plainly ſignifie Revenge or Retribution, her office and adminiſtration being (like a Tribune of the People) to hinder the conſtant and perpetual felicity of happy Men, and to interpoſe her word, *veto*, I forbid the continuance of it; that is, not only to chaſtiſe Inſolency, but to intermix proſperity (though harmleſs and in a mean) with the Viciſſitudes of adverſity, as if it were a cuſtom, that no mortal Man ſhould be admitted to the Table of the Gods but for ſport. Truly when I read that Chapter, wherein *Caius Plinius* hath collected his misfortunes and miſeries of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, whom of all Men I thought the moſt happy, who had alſo a kind of Art to uſe and enjoy his Fortune, and in whoſe mind might be noted neither pride, nor lightneſs, nor niceneſs, nor diſorder, nor melancholy, (as that he had appointed a time to die of his own accord,) I then deemed this Goddeſs to be great and powerful, to whoſe Altar ſo worthy a Sacrifice as this was drawn.

The Parents of this Goddeſs were *Oceanus* and *Nox*, that is, the Viciſſitude of things and Divine Judgment obſcure and ſecret: For the alteration of things are aptly repreſented by the Sea, in reſpect of the continual Ebbing and Flowing of it, and hidden Providence is well ſet forth by the Night: For even the Nocturnal *Nemeſis* (ſeeing Humane judgment differs much from Divine) was ſeriouſly obſerved by the Heathen.

Virgil Æneid. lib. 2.

——*Cadit & Ripheus juſtiſſimus unus,*
Qui fuit ex Teucris, & ſervantiſſimus æqui.
Diis aliter viſum——

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That day, by *Greekiſh* force, was *Ripheus* ſlain
So juſt and ſtrict obſerver of the Law,
As *Troy* within her Walls, did not contain
A better Man: Yet God then good it ſaw.

She is deſcribed with Wings, becauſe the changes of things are ſo ſudden, as that they are ſeen before foreſeen: For in the Records of all Ages, we find it for the moſt part true, that great Potentates, and wiſe Men, have periſhed by thoſe misfortunes which they moſt contemned; as may be obſerved in *Marcus Cicero*, who being admoniſhed by *Decius Brutus* of *Octavius Cæſar*'s hypocritical friendſhip and hollow-heartedneſs towards him, returns this anſwer, *Te autem, mi Brute, ſicut debeo, amo, quod iſtud quicquid eſt nugarum me ſcire voluiſti:* I muſt ever acknowledge my ſelf (Dear *Brutus*) beholden to thee, in love, for that thou haſt been ſo careful to acquaint me with that which I eſteem but as a needleſs trifle to be doubted.

Nemeſis is alſo adorned with a Coronet, to ſhew the envious and malignant diſpoſition of the vulgar, for when Fortunes Favourites and great Potentates come to ruine, then do the common People rejoyce, ſetting, as it were, a Crown upon the head of Revenge.

The Javelin in her right hand points at thoſe whom ſhe actually ſtrikes and pierceth through.

And before thoſe, whom ſhe deſtroys not in their calamity and misfortune, ſhe ever preſents that black and diſmal ſpectacle in her left hand: for queſtionleſs to Men ſitting as it were upon the Pinacle of Proſperity, the thoughts of Death and painfulneſs of ſickneſs and misfortunes, perfidiouſneſs of Friends, treachery of Foes, change of Eſtate, and ſuch like, ſeem as ugly to the Eye of their Meditations, as thoſe *Æthiopians* pictured in *Nemeſis* her Pitcher. *Virgil* in deſcribing the Battel of *Actium*, ſpeaks thus elegantly of *Cleopatra*.

Regina

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina ſiſtro
Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo reſpicit angues.

The Queen amid'ſt this hurly-burly ſtands,
And with her Countrey Timbrel calls her Bands;
Not ſpying yet, where crawl'd behind her Back,
Two deadly Snakes with Venom ſpeckled black.

But not long after, which way ſoever ſhe turned, Troops of *Æthiopians* were ſtill before her Eyes. Laſtly, It is wiſely added, That *Nemeſis* rides upon an *Hart*, becauſe a *Hart* is a moſt lively Creature. And albeit, it may be, that ſuch as are cut off by Death in their Youth prevent and ſhun the power of *Nemeſis*; yet doubtleſs ſuch, whoſe proſperity and power continue long, are made ſubject unto her, and lie as it were trodden under her Feet.

ACHELOUS, or, Battel.

IT is a Fable of Antiquity, that when *Hercules* and *Achelous* as Rivals contended for the Marriage of *Deianira*, the matter drew them to combate, wherein *Achelous* took upon him many divers ſhapes, for ſo was it in his power to do, and amongſt others, transforming himſelf into the likeneſs of a furious wild Bull, aſſaults *Hercules* and provokes him to fight. But *Hercules*, for all this, ſticking to his old Humane Form, courageouſly encounters him, and ſo the Combat goes roundly on. But this was the event, That *Hercules* tore away one of the Bull's Horns, wherewith he being mightily daunted and grieved, to ranſome his Horn again, was contented to give *Hercules*, in exchange thereof, the *Amalthean* Horn, or *Cornu-Copia*.

This Fable hath relation unto the Expeditions of War, for the Preparations thereof on the defenſive part (which expreſt in the Perſon of *Achelous*) is very diverſe and uncertain. But the invading Party is moſt commonly of one ſort, and that very ſingle, conſiſting of an Army by Land, or perhaps of a Navy by Sea. But for a King that in his own Territory, expects an Enemy, his occaſions are infinite. He fortifies Towns, he aſſembles Men out of the Countreys and Villages, he raiſeth Citadels, he builds and breaks down Bridges, he diſpoſeth Gariſons, and placeth Troops of Soldiers on Paſſages of Rivers, on Ports, on Mountains, and Ambuſhes in Woods, and is buſied with a multitude of other Directions, inſomuch, that every day he preſcribeth new Forms and Orders; and then at laſt having accommodated all things compleat for defence, he then rightly repreſents the form and manner of a fierce fighting Bull. On the other ſide, the Invader his greateſt care is, the fear to be diſtreſſed for Victuals in an Enemy-Country; and therefore affects chiefly to haſten on Battel: For if it ſhould happen, that after a Field-fight, he prove the Victor, and as it were, break the Horn of the Enemy, then certainly this follows, that his Enemy being ſtricken with Terror, and abaſed in his Reputation, preſently bewrays his weakneſs, and ſeeking to repair his loſs, retires himſelf to ſome ſtrong-hold, abandoning to the Conqueror the ſpoil and ſack of his Country and Cities: which may well be termed a Type of the *Amalthean* Horn.

DIONYSUS, or Paſſions.

THEY ſay that *Semele*, *Jupiter*'s Sweet-heart, (having bound her Paramour, by an irrevocable Oath, to grant her one Requeſt which ſhe would require) deſired that he would accompany her in the ſame

ſame form wherein he accompanied *Juno:* Which he granting (as not able to deny) it came to paſs, that the miſerable Wench was burnt with Lightning. But the Infant which ſhe bare in her Womb, *Jupiter*, the Father, took out, and kept it in a gaſh which he cut in his Thigh, till the Months were compleat that it ſhould be born. This burthen made *Jupiter* ſomewhat to limp, whereupon the Child (becauſe it was heavy and troubleſome to its Father while it lay in his Thigh) was called *Dionyſus*. Being born, it was committed to *Proſerpina* for ſome years to be Nurſt, and being grown up, it had ſuch a Maiden face, as that a Man could hardly judge whether it were a Boy or Girl. He was dead alſo, and buried for a time, but afterward revived: Being but a Youth, he invented and taught the planting and dreſſing of Vines, the making alſo, and uſe of Wine; for which, becoming famous and renowned, he ſubjugated the World, even to the uttermoſt bounds of *India*. He rode in a chariot drawn with Tygers. There danced about him certain deformed Hobgoblins called *Cobali*, *Acratus*, and others, yea, even the Muſes alſo were ſome of his Followers. He took to Wife *Ariadne*, forſaken and left by *Theſeus*. The Tree ſacred unto him was the *Ivy*. He was held the Inventor and Inſtitutor of Sacrifices, and Ceremonies, and full of Corruption and Cruelty. He had power to ſtrike Men with fury and madneſs; for it is reported, That at the celebration of his Orgies, two famous Worthies, *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, were torn in pieces by certain frantick Women, the one becauſe he got upon a Tree to behold their Ceremonies in theſe Sacrifices; the other for making melody with his Harp: And for his Gods, they are in a manner the ſame with *Jupiter*'s.

There is ſuch excellent morality coucht in this Fable, as that Moral Philoſophy affords not better; for under the Perſon of *Bacchus* is deſcribed the nature of Affection, Paſſion, or Perturbation, the Mother of which (though never ſo hurtful) is nothing elſe but the Ob-

ject of apparent good in the Eyes of Appetite. And it is always conceived in an unlawful deſire, raſhly propounded and obtained, before well underſtood and conſidered; and when it begins to grow, the Mother of it, which is the deſire of apparent good by too much fervency, is deſtroyed and periſheth. Nevertheleſs whil ſt yet it is an imperfect *Embrio*) it is nouriſhed and preſerved in the Humane Soul, (which is as it were a Father unto it, and repreſented by *Jupiter*,) but eſpecially in the inferior part thereof, as in a Thigh, where alſo it cauſeth ſo much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindred and lamed thereby; and when it comes to be confirmed by conſent and habit, and breaks out as it were into act, it remains yet a while with *Proſerpina*, as with a Nurſe, that is, it ſeeks corners and ſecret places, and as it were, Caves under Ground, until (the Reigns of Shame and Fear being laid aſide in a pampered audaciouſneſs) it either takes the pretext of ſome Vertue, or becomes altogether impudent and ſhameleſs. And it is moſt true, that every vehement Paſſion is of a doubtfull Sex, as being Maſculine in the firſt Motion, but Feminine in Proſecution.

It is an excellent Fiction that of *Bacchus* his reviving; for Paſſions do ſometimes ſeem to be in a dead ſleep, and as it were utterly extinct, but we ſhould not think them to be ſo indeed, no, though they lay, as it were, in their Grave; for let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you ſhall ſee them quickly to revive again.

The invention of Wine is wittily aſcribed unto him; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings nouriſhment unto it; and indeed, of all things known to Men, Wine is moſt powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle Paſſions of what kind ſoever, as being in a manner common Nurſe to themall.

Again,

Again, his conquering of Nations, and undertaking infinite Expeditions is an elegant device; for Deſire never reſts content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unſatiable Appetite ſtill covets and gapes after more.

His Chariot alſo is well ſaid to be drawn by Tygers; for as ſoon as any affection ſhall from going a foot, be advanced to ride in a Chariot, and ſhall captivate reaſon, and lead her in a triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce againſt whatſoever withſtands or oppoſeth it.

It is worth the noting alſo, that thoſe ridiculous Hobgoblins are brought in dancing about his Chariot; for every Paſſion doth cauſe, in the Eyes, Face and Geſture, certain undecent, and ill-ſeeming, apiſh, and deformed motions; ſo that they who in any kind of Paſſion, as in anger, arrogancy, or love, ſeem glorious and brave in their own Eyes, do yet appear to others miſſhapen and ridiculous.

In that the Muſes are ſaid to be of his company, it ſhews that there is no affection almoſt which is not ſoothed by ſome Art, wherein the indulgence of Wits doth derogate from the glory of the Muſes, who (when they ought to be the Miſtreſs of Life) are made the Waiting-maids, of affections.

Again, where *Bacchus* is ſaid to have loved *Ariadne*, that was rejected by *Theſeus*; it is an Allegory of ſpecial obſervation; for it is moſt certain, that Paſſions always covet and deſire that which Experience forſakes; and they all know (who have paid dear for ſerving and obeying their Luſt) that whether it be honour, or riches, or delight, or glory, or knowledge, or anything elſe which they ſeek after, yet are they but things caſt off, and by divers Men, in all ages after experience had utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a Myſtery, that the *Ivy* was ſacred to *Bacchus*; for the Application holds, Firſt, in that the *Ivy* remains green in Winter. Secondly, In

that it ſticks to, embraceth, and overtoppeth ſo many divers Bodies, as Trees, Walls, and Edifices. Touching the firſt, every Paſſion doth by reſiſtance and reluctation, and as it were by *Antiperiſtaſis* (like the *Ivy* of the cold Winter,) grow freſh and luſty. And as for the other, every predominate Affection doth again (like the *Ivy*) embrance and limit all Humane Actions and Determinations, adhering and cleaving faſt unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that ſuperſtitious Rites and Ceremonies were attributed unto *Bacchus*, ſeeing every giddy headed humour keeps in a manner Revel-rout in falſe Religions; or that the cauſe of Madneſs ſhould be aſcribed unto him, ſeeing every affection is by Nature a ſhort fury, which (if it grow vehement, and become habitual) concludes in madneſs.

Concerning the rending and diſmembring of *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, the Parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and ſevere, and againſt curious inquiry, and wholſome and free admonition.

Laſtly, That confuſion of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, their Perſons may be well transferred to a Parable, ſeeing noble and famous Acts, and remarkable and glorious Merits, do ſometimes proceed from Vertue, and well ordered Reaſon and Magnanimity, and ſometimes from a ſecret Affection, and hidden Paſſion, which are ſo dignified with the celebrity of Fame and Glory, that a Man can hardly diſtinguiſh between the Acts of *Bacchus*, and the Geſts of *Jupiter*.

ATALANTA, or Gain.

ATALANTA, who was reputed to excel in ſwiftneſs, would needs challenge *Hippomenes* at a match in running. The conditions of the prize were theſe:

theſe: That if *Hippomenes* won the Race, he ſhould eſpouſe *Atalanta*; if he were out-run, that then he ſhould forfeit his Life. And in the Opinion of all, the victory was thought aſſured of *Atalanta*'s ſide, being famous, as ſhe was, for her matchleſs and inconquerable ſpeed, whereby ſhe had been the bane of many. *Hippomenes* therefore bethinks him how to deceive her by a trick, and in that regard provides three Golden Apples or Balls, which he purpoſely carried about him. The Race is begun, and *Atalanta* gets a good ſtart before him. He ſeeing himſelf thus caſt behind, being mindful of his device, throws one of his Golden Balls before her, and yet not outright, but ſomewhat of the one ſide, both to make her linger and alſo to draw her out of the right courſe: She, out of a Womaniſh deſire, (being thus enticed with the beauty of the Golden Apple) leaving her direct Race, runs aſide, and ſtoops to catch the Ball, *Hippomenes* the while holds on his courſe, getting thereby a great ſtart, and leaves her behind him: But ſhe by her own natural ſwiftneſs, recovers her loſt time, and gets before him again. But *Hippomenes* ſtill continues his ſleight, and both the ſecond and third times caſt out his Balls, thoſe inticing delays; and ſo by craft, and not by his activity, wins the Race and Victory.

This Fable ſeems Allegorically to demonſtrate a notable conflict between Art and Nature; for Art (ſignified by *Atalanta*) in its work (if it be not letted and hindred) is far more ſwift than Nature, more ſpeedy in pace, and ſooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifeſt almoſt in every effect: As you may ſee it in Fruit-trees, whereof thoſe that grow of a Kernel are long e're they bear, but ſuch as are grafted on a Stock a great deal ſooner. You may ſee it in Clay, which in the generation of Stones, is long e're it become hard; but in the burning of Bricks, is very quickly affected. Alſo in Moral Paſſages you may obſerve, that it is a long time e're (by the benefit of

Nature) ſorrow can be aſſuaged, and comfort attained; whereas Philoſophy (which is, as it were, Art of Living) tarries not the leiſure of time, but doth it inſtantly, and out of hand; and yet this Prerogative and ſingular agility of Art is hindred by certain Golden Apples to the infinite prejudice of Humane proceedings: For there is not any one *Art* or *Science* which conſtantly perſeveres in a true and lawful courſe, till it come to the propoſed End or Mark; but ever and anon makes ſtops after good beginnings, leaves the Race, and turns aſide to Profit and Commodity, like *Atalanta.*

Declinat curſus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Who doth her courſe forſake,
The Rolling Gold to take.

And therefore it is no wonder that Art and not the power to conquer Nature, and by Pact or Law of Conqueſt, to kill and deſtroy her; but on the contrary it falls out, that Art becomes ſubject to Nature, and yields the Obedience, as a Wife the Husband.

PROMETHEUS, or the State of Man.

THe Ancients deliver, that *Prometheus* made a Man of Clay, mixt with certain parcels taken from divers Animals, who ſtudying to maintain this his Work by Art, (that he might not be accounted a founder only, but Propagator of Humane kind) ſtole up to Heaven with a bundle of Twigs, which he kindled at the Chariot of the Sun, came down again, and communicated it with Men: and yet they ſay, (That notwithſtanding this excellent work of his,) he was requited with Ingratitude, in a treacherous Conſpiracy:

cy: For they accuſed both him and his Invention to *Jupiter*, which was not ſo taken as was meet it ſhould, for the Information was pleaſing to *Jupiter*, and all the Gods. And therefore in a merry Mood, granted unto Men, not only the uſe of Fire, but perpetual youth alſo, a Boon moſt acceptable and deſirable. They being, as it were, over joyed, did fooliſhly lay this Gift of the Gods upon the back of an Aſs, who being wonderfully oppreſs'd with Thirſt, and near a Fountain, was told by a Serpent (which had the cuſtody thereof) that he ſhould not drink, unleſs he would promiſe to give him the Burthen that was on his Back. The ſilly Aſs accepted the condition, and ſo the reſtauration of Youth (ſold for a draught of Water) paſt from Men to Serpents. But *Prometheus* full of Malice, being reconciled unto Men, after they were fruſtrated of their Gift, but in a Chafe yet with *Jupiter*, feared not to uſe deceit in Sacrifice: For having killed two Bulls, and in one of their Hides wrapp'd up the Fleſh and Fat of them both, and in the other only the Bones, with a great ſhew of Religious Devotion, gave *Jupiter* his choice, who (deteſting his Fraud and Hypocriſie, but taking an occaſion of Revenge) choſe that which was ſtopp'd with Bones, and ſo turning to Revenge (when he ſaw that the Inſolency of *Prometheus* would not be repreſſed, but by laying ſome grievous Affliction upon Mankind, in the forming of which, he ſo much bragged and boaſted) commanded *Vulcan* to frame a goodly beautiful Woman, which being done, every one of the Gods beſtowed a Gift on her; whereupon ſhe was called *Pandora*. To this Woman they gave, in her hand, a goodly Box full of all Miſeries and Calamities, only in the bottom of it they put *Hope*; with this Box ſhe comes firſt to *Prometheus*, thinking to catch him, if peradventure he ſhould accept it at her hands, and ſo open it: which he nevertheleſs, with good Providence and Foreſight refuſed. Whereupon ſhe goes to *Epimetheus* (who, though

though Brother to *Prometheus*, yet was of a much differing Diſpoſition) and offers this Box unto him, who without delay took it, and raſhly opened it; but when he ſaw that all kind of Miſeries came flutter-ing about his Ears, being wiſe too late, with great ſpeed and earneſt endeavour clapt on the Cover, and ſo with much ado retained *Hope* ſitting alone in the bottom; at laſt *Jupiter* laying many and grievous Crimes to *Prometheus* his charge (as that he had ſtoln Fire from Heaven, that in contempt of his Majeſty, he ſacrificed a Bull's Hide ſtuff'd with Bones, that he ſcornfully rejected his Gift, and beſides all this that he offered violence to *Pallas*) caſt him into Chains, and doom'd him to perpetual Torment: and by *Jupiter*'s Command, was brought to the Mountain *Caucaſus*, and there bound faſt to a Pillar that he could not ſtir; there came an Eagle alſo, that every day ſat tyring upon his Liver and waſted it, but as much as was eaten in the day, grew again in the Night, that Matter for Torment to work upon might never decay. But yet they ſay there was an end of this Puniſhment. For *Hercules* croſſing the Ocean in a Cup, which the Sun gave him, came to *Caucaſus*, and ſet *Prometheus* at liberty, by ſhooting the Eagle with an Arrow. Moreover in ſome Nations there were inſtituted in the honour of *Prometheus*, certain Games of Lamp-bearers, in which they that ſtrived for the Prize, were wont to carry Torches lighted; which who ſo ſuffered to go out, yielded the Place and Victory to thoſe that followed, and ſo caſt back themſelves; ſo that whoſoever came firſt to the Mark with his Torch burning, got the Prize.

This Fable demonſtrates and preſſeth many true and grave Speculations, wherein ſome things have been heretofore well noted, others not ſo much as touch'd.

Prometheus doth clearly and elegantly ſignifie *Providence*: For in the Univerſality of Nature, the Fabrick and Conſtitution of Man only was by the Ancients pick'd

pick'd out and choſen, and attributed unto *Providence*, as a peculiar Work. The reaſon of it ſeems to be, not only in that the Nature of Man is capable of a mind and underſtanding, which is the Seat of *Providence*; and therefore it would ſeem ſtrange and incredible, that the reaſon and mind ſhould ſo proceed and flow from dumb and deaf Principles, as that it ſhould neceſſarily be concluded, the Soul of Man to be endued with Providence, not without the example, intention, and ſtamp of a greater Providence. But this alſo is chiefly propounded, that man is as it were the Centre of the World, in reſpect of final Cauſes, ſo that if Man were not in Nature, all things would ſeem to ſtray and wander without purpoſe, and like ſcattered Branches (as they ſay) without inclinations to their end: For all things attend on Man, and he makes uſe of, and gathers Fruit from all Creatures: For the revolutions and periods of Stars make both for the diſtinctions of Times, and the diſtribution of the World's ſight. *Meteors* alſo are referred to preſages of Tempeſts; and Winds are ordained, as well for Navigation, as for turning of Mills, and other Engines: And Plants, and Animals of what kind ſoever, are uſeful either for Men's Houſes, and places of ſhelter, or for Rayment, or for Food, or Medicine, or for eaſe of Labour, or in a word, for delight and ſolace; ſo that all things ſeem to work, not for themſelves, but for Man.

Neither is it added without conſideration that certain Particles were taken from divers living Creatures, and mix'd and tempered with that clayey Maſs, becauſe it is moſt true that of all things comprehended within the compaſs of the Univerſe, Man is a thing moſt mix'd and compounded, inſomuch that he was well termed by the Ancients, a little World; for although the *Chymicks* do, with too much Curioſity, take and wreſt the elegancy of this Word (*Microcoſm*) to the Letter, contending to find in Man all Minerals, all Vegetables and the reſt, or any thing that holds proportion

tion with them; yet this propoſition remains ſound and whole, that the Body of Man, of all material Beings is found to be moſt compounded, and moſt organical, whereby it is endued and furniſhed with moſt admirable Vertues and Faculties. And as for ſimple Bodies, their Powersare not many, though certain and violent, as exiſting without being weakned, diminiſhed or ſtinted by mixture; for the multiplicity and excellency of Operation have their reſidence in mixture and compoſition, and yet nevertheleſs, Man in his Originals ſeems to be a thing unarmed, and naked, and unable to help it ſelf, as needing the aid of many things; therefore *Prometheus* made haſte to find out Fire, which ſuppeditates and yields comfort and help in a manner, to all humane Wants and Neceſſities: ſo that if the Soul be the Form of Forms, and if the Hand be the Inſtrument of Inſtruments; Fire deſerves well to be called the Succour of Succours, or the Help of Helps, which infinite ways affords aid and aſſiſtance too all Labours and Mechanical Arts, and to the Sciences themſelves.

The manner of ſtealing this fire is aptly deſcribed, even from the nature of things: It was, they ſay, by a bundle of Twigs held to touch the Chariot of the Sun: For twigs are uſed in giving blows or Stripes, to ſignifie clearly, that fire is engendred by the violent percuſſion and mutual colliſſion of Bodies, by which their material Subſtances are attenuated and ſet in Motion, and prepared to receive the heat or influence of the Heavenly Bodies; and ſo in a clandeſtine manner, and as it were by ſtealth, may be ſaid to take and ſnatch Fire from the Chariot of the Sun.

There follows next a remarkable part of the Parable, that Men inſtead of Gratulation and Thankſgiving, were angry, and expoſtulated the Matter with *Prometheus*, inſomuch that they accuſed both him and his Invention unto *Jupiter*, which was ſo acceptable to him, that he augmented their former Commodities with a new Bounty. Seems it not ſtrange, that Ingratitude towards

towards the Author of a Benefit (a Vice that in a manner contains all other Vices) ſhould find ſuch Approbation and Reward? No, it ſeems to be otherwiſe: For the meaning of the Allegory is this, that Men's out-cries upon the defects of Nature and Art, proceed from an excellent diſpoſition of the Mind, and turn to their good, whereas the ſilencing of them is hateful to the Gods, and redounds not ſo much to their Profit: For they that infinitely extol Humane Nature, or the knowledge they poſſeſs, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring alſo thoſe Sciences they profeſs, would have them be accounted perfect; they do firſt of all ſhew little Reverence to the divine Nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own Defects with God's Perfection: Again, they are wonderfully injurious to Men, by imagining they have attained the higheſt ſtep of knowledge, (reſting themſelves contented) ſeek no further. On the contrary, ſuch as bring Nature and Art to the Bar with Accuſations, and Bills of Complaint againſt them, are indeed of more true and moderate Judgments: For they are ever in Action, ſeeking always to find out new Inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the fooliſh and inconſiderate Diſpoſitions of ſome Men, who (making themſelves Bond-ſlaves to the Arrogancy of a few) have the Philoſophy of the Peripateticks (containing only a Portion of *Græcian* Wiſdom, and that but a ſmall one neither) in ſo great eſteem, that they hold it, not only an unprofitable, but a ſuſpicious, and almoſt heinous thing, to lay any imputation of Imperfection upon it. I approve rather of *Empedocles* his Opinion (who like a Mad-man, and of *Democritus* his Judgment, who with great moderation complained how that all things were involved in a Miſt) that we knew nothing, that we diſcerned nothing, that Truth was drowned in the depths of Obſcurity, and that falſe things were wonderfully joined and intermix'd with true (as for the new Academy that exceeded all meaſure) than of the confident

fident and pronunciative School of *Aristotle*. Let Men therefore be admonished, that by acknowledging the Imperfection of Nature and Art, they are grateful to the Gods, and shall thereby obtain new Benefits and greater Favours at their bountiful Hands, and the Accusation of *Prometheus* their Author and Master (though bitter and vehement) will conduce more to their Profit, than to the effuse in the congratulation of his Invention. For in a Word the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest Causes of having too little.

Now as touching the kind of Gift which Men are said to have received in reward of their Accusation (to wit, an ever-fading Flower of Youth) it is to shew, that the Ancients seemed not to despair of attaining the skill by Means and Medicines, to put off Old Age, and to prolong Life, but this to be numbred rather among such things (having been once happily attained unto) are now through Men's Negligence and Carelesness, utterly perished and lost; than among such as have been always denied and never granted: For they signifie and shew, that by affording the true use of Fire, and by a good and stern accusation and conviction of the Errors of Art, the Divine Bounty is not wanting unto Men in the obtaining of such Gifts, but Men are wanting to themselves in laying this Gift of the Gods upon the back of a silly slow-paced Ass, which may seem to be Experience, a stupid thing, and full of Delay: From whose leisurely and Snail-like-pace, proceeds that complaint of Life's brevity, and Arts length. And to say the Truth, I am of this opinion, that those two Faculties, *Dogmatical* and *Emperical*, are not as yet well joined and coupled together, but as new Gifts of the Gods imposed either upon Philosophical Abstractions, as upon a flying Bird, or upon slow and dull Experience, as upon an Ass. And yet methinks, I would not entertain an ill conceit of this Ass, if it meet not for the accidents of

Travel

Travel and Thirſt: For I am perſwaded, that who ſo conſtantly goes on, by the conduct of Experience as by a certain Rule and Method, and not covets to meet with ſuch Experiments by the way, as conduce either to gain or oſtentation, (to obtain which, he muſt be fain to lay down, and ſell this Burthen) may prove no unfit Porter to bear this new addition of divine Munificence.

Now, in that this Gift is ſaid to paſs from Men to Serpents, it may ſeem to be added to the Fable for ornament-ſake in a manner, unleſs it were inſerted to ſhame Men, that having the uſe of that Cœleſtial Fire, and of ſo many Arts, are not able to get unto themſelves ſuch things as Nature it ſelf beſtows upon many other Creatures.

But that ſudden reconciliation of Men to *Prometheus*, after they were fruſtrated of their hopes, contains a profitable and wiſe Note, ſhewing the levity and temerity of Men in new Experiments; for if they have not preſent Succeſs, anſwerable to their expectation, with too ſudden haſt deſiſt from that they began, and with precipitancy returning to their former experiments, are reconciled to them again.

The ſtate of Man, in reſpect of Arts, and ſuch things as concern the Intellect, being now deſcribed, the Parable paſſeth to Religion: For after the planting of Arts, follows the ſetting of Divine Principles, which Hypocriſie hath over-ſpread and polluted. By that twofold Sacrifice therefore is elegantly ſhadowed out the Perſons of a true Religious Man, and an Hypocrite. In the one is contained Fatneſs, which (by reaſon of the Inflammation and Fumes thereof,) is called, *The Portion of God*; by which his Affection and Zeal, (tending to God's Glory, and aſcending towards Heaven) is ſignified. In him alſo are contained the Bowels of Charity, and in him is found that good and wholeſome Fleſh. Whereas in the other, there is nothing but

but dry and naked Bones; which nevertheleſs, do ſtuff up the Hide, and make it appear like a fair and goodly Sacrifice: By this may be well meant thoſe external and vain Rites, and empty Ceremonies by which Men do oppreſs and fill up the ſincere Worſhip of God, things compoſed rather for oſtentation, than any way conducing to true Piety. Neither do they hold it ſufficient to offer ſuch mock-Sacrifices unto God, except they alſo lay them before him, as if he had choſen and beſpoke them. Certainly the Prophet in the perſon of God, doth thus expoſtulate concerning this Choice, *Iſa.* 58. 5. *Num tandem hoc eſt illud Jejunium quod ELEGI, ut homo animam ſuam in diem unum affligat, & caput inſtar junceti demittat?* Is it ſuch a Faſt, that I have choſen, that a Man ſhould afflict his Soul for a day, and to bow down his head like a Bulruſh?

Having now touch'd the State of Religion, the Parable converts it ſelf to the Manners and Conditions of humane Life. And it is a common, but apt interpretation, by *Pandora* to be meant pleaſure and voluptuouſneſs; which (when the civil Life is pamper'd with too much Art, and Culture, and Superfluity,) is ingendred, as it were, by the efficacy of Fire, and therefore the work of Voluptuouſneſs is attributed unto *Vulcan*, who alſo himſelf doth repreſent Fire. From this do infinite Miſeries, together with too late repentance, proceed, and overflow the Minds, and Bodies, and Fortunes of Men, and that not only in reſpect of particular Eſtates, but even over Kingdoms and Commonwealths; for from this Fountain have Wars, Tumults, and Tyrannies derived their Original.

But it would be worth the Labour to conſider how elegantly and proportionably this Fable doth delineate two Conditions; or (as I may ſay) two Tables or Examples of humane Life, under the Perſons of *Prometheus*, or *Epimetheus*; for they that are of *Epimetheus* his Sect, are improvident, not foreſeeing what may come to paſs hereafter; eſteeming that beſt which ſeems

ſeems moſt ſweet for the preſent; whence it happens, that they are overtaken with many miſeries, difficulties, and calamities, and ſo lead their Lives almoſt in perpetual affliction; but yet notwithſtanding they pleaſe their Fancy, and out of ignorance of the paſſages of things, do entertain many vain hopes in their mind, whereby they ſometimes (as with ſweet Dreams) ſolace themſelves, and ſweeten the Miſeries of their Life. But they that are *Prometheus* his Scholars, are Men endued with Prudence, foreſeeing things to come, warily ſhunning, and avoiding many Evils and Misfortunes. But to theſe their good Properties, they have alſo annexed, that they deprive themſelves, and defraud their *Genius* of many lawful Pleaſures, and divers Recreations, and (which is worſe,) they vex, and torment themſelves with cares and troubles, and inteſtine fears; for being chained to the Pillar of Neceſſity, they are afflicted with innumerable cogitations, (which, becauſe they are very ſwift, may be fitly compared to an Eagle,) and thoſe griping, and as it were, gnawing and devouring the Liver, unleſs ſometimes, as it were, by Night, it may be they get a little recreation, and eaſe of Mind; but ſo, as that they are again ſuddenly aſſaulted with freſh anxieties and fears.

Therefore this Benefit happens to but a very few of either condition, that they ſhould retain the Commodities of Providence, and free themſelves from the Miſeries of Care and Perturbation; neither indeed can any attain unto it, but by the aſſiſtance of *Hercules*, that is, Fortitude, and Conſtancy of Mind, which is prepared for every Event and armed in all Fortunes, foreſeeing without fear, enjoying without loathing, and ſuffering without Impatience. It is worth the noting alſo, that this Vertue was not natural to *Prometheus*, but adventitial, and from the indulgence of another; for no in-bred and natural Fortitude is able to encounter with theſe Miſeries. Moreover, this Vertue was received and brought unto him from the

remoteſt part of the *Ocean*, and from the *Sun*, that is, from Wiſdom, as from the Sun; and from the Meditation of Inconſtancy, or of the Waters of humane Life, as from the ſailing upon the Ocean; which two *Virgil* hath well conjoyned in theſe Verſes;

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas:
Quique metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, ſtrepitumq; Acherontis avari.

Happy is he that knows the cauſes of things:
And that with dauntleſs courage treads upon
All Fear and Fates, relentleſs Threatnings,
And greedy Throat of roaring *Acheron*.

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the conſolation and confirmation of Men's Minds, that this noble *Hero* croſs'd the Ocean in a Cup or Pan, leſt peradventure, they might too much fear that the ſtraits and frailty of their Nature will not be capable of this Fortitude and Conſtancy. Of which very thing *Seneca* well conceived, when he ſaid, *Magnum eſt habere ſimul fragilitatem hominis, & ſecuritatem Dei.* It is a great matter for Humane Frailty and Divine Security to be one and the ſelf-ſame time, in one and the ſelf-ſame Subject.

But now we are to ſtep back a little again to that which by premeditation paſt over, leſt a Breach ſhould be made in thoſe things that were ſo link'd together. That therefore which I could touch here, is that late Crime imputed to *Prometheus*, about ſeeking to bereave *Minerva* of her Virginity: For queſtionleſs, it was this hainous offence that brought that puniſhment of devouring his Liver, upon him; which is nothing else but to ſhew, that when we are puft up with too much Learning and Science, they go about oftentimes to make even Divine Oracles ſubject to Sence and Reaſon; whence moſt certainly follows a continual diſtraction

ſtraction, and reſtleſs griping of the Mind; we muſt therefore with a ſober, and humble Judgment, diſtinguiſh between Humanity, and Divinity, and between the Oracles of Senſe, and the Myſteries of Faith unleſs an Heretical Religion, and a commentitious Philoſophy be pleaſing unto us.

Laſtly, it remains that we ſay ſomething of the Games of *Prometheus*, performed with burning Torches, which again hath reference to Arts and Sciences, as that fire, in whoſe Memory, and Celebration, theſe Games were inſtituted, and it contains in it a moſt wiſe admonition, that the perfection of Sciences to be expected from Succeſſion, not from the nimbleneſs and promptneſs of one only Author; for they that are nimbleſt in Courſe, and ſtrongeſt in Contention, yet happily have not the luck to keep Fire ſtill in their Torch; ſeeing it may be as well extinguiſhed by running too faſt, as by going to ſlow. And this running and contending with Lamps, ſeems long ſince to be intermitted, ſeeing all Sciences ſeem even now to flouriſh moſt in their firſt Authors, *Ariſtotle*, *Galen*, *Euclid*, and *Ptolomy*; Succeſſion having neither effected, nor almoſt attempted any great Matter. It were therefore to be wiſhed, that theſe Games, in honour of *Prometheus*, or Humane Nature, were again reſtored, and that Matters ſhould receive ſucceſs by Combate and Emulation, and not hang upon any one Man's ſparkling and ſhaking Torch. Men therefore are to be admoniſhed to rouſe up their Spirits, and try their ſtrengths and turns, and not refer all to the Opinions and Brains of a few.

And thus have I delivered that which I thought good to obſerve out of this ſo well known, and common Fable; and yet I will not deny, but that there may be ſome things in it, which have an admirable conſent with the Myſteries of Chriſtian Religion, and eſpecially that Sailing of *Hercules* in a Cup, (to ſet *Prometheus* at liberty,) ſeems to repreſent an Image of the Divine Word, coming in Fleſh, as in a frail Veſſel, to

redeem Man from the Slavery of *Hell.* But I have interdicted my Pen all liberty in this kind, leſt I ſhould uſe ſtrange Fire at the Altar of the Lord.

SCYLLA and *ICARUS*, *or the Middle-way.*

MEDIOCRITY, or the *Middle-way*, is moſt commended in Moral Actions; in Contemplative Sciences, not ſo celebrated; though no leſs profitable and commodious; but in Political Employments, to be uſed with great heed and jugdment. The Ancients by the way, preſcribed by *Icarus*, noted the Mediocrity of Manners; and by the way between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* (ſo famous for difficulty and danger,) the Mediocrity of intellectual Operations.

Icarus being to croſs the Sea by flight, was commanded by his Father, that he ſhould fly neither too high nor too low; for his Wings being joined with Wax, if he ſhould mount too high, it was to be feared leſt the Wax would melt by the heat of the Sun; and if too low, leſt miſty Vapours of the Sea would make it leſs tenacious; but he in a youthful jollity ſoaring too high, fell down headlong, and periſhed in the Water.

The Parable is eaſie and vulgar; for the way of Vertue lies in a direct path between exceſs and defect. Neither is it a wonder that *Icarus* periſhed by exceſs, ſeeing that exceſs for the moſt part, is the peculiar fault of Youth, as defect is of Age, and yet of two evil and hurtful ways, Youth commonly makes choice of the better, defect being always accounted worſt; for whereas Exceſs contains ſome Sparks of Magnanimity, and, like a Bird, claims Kindred of the Heavens, Defect, only like a baſe Worm, crawls upon the Earth. Excellently therefore ſaid *Heraclitus*, *Lumen ſiccum, optima Anima*; a dry Light is the beſt Soul; for if the Soul

Soul contract Moiſture from the Earth is become degenerate altogether. Again, on the other ſide, there muſt be moderation uſed, that this Light be ſubtiliz'd by this laudable Siccity, and not deſtroyed by too much fervency. And thus much every Man for the moſt part knows.

Now they that would ſail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* muſt be furniſhed, as well with the skill, as proſperous ſucceſs in Navigation: for if their Ships fall into *Scylla* they are Split on the Rocks: if into *Charybdis* they are ſwallowed up of a Gulf.

The Moral of this Parable (which we will but briefly touch, although it contain matter of infinite Contemplation) ſeems to be this: That in every Art and Science, and ſo in their Rules and Axioms, there be a mean obſerved between the Rocks of Diſtinctions, and the Gulfs of Univerſalities; which two are famous for the Wrack both of Wits and Arts.

SPHYNX, or Science.

THEY ſay that *Sphynx* was a Monſter of divers forms, as having the Face and Voice of a Virgin, the Wings of a Bird, and the Talons of a Gryphin. His abode was in a Mountain near the City of *Thebes*, he kept alſo the High-ways, and uſed to lie in Ambuſh for Travellers, and ſo to ſurprize them: To whom (being in his power) he propounded certain dark and intricate Riddles, which were thought to have been given and received of the Muſes. Now if theſe miſerable Captives were not able inſtantly to reſolve and interpret them in the mid'ſt of their difficulties and doubts, ſhe would rend and tear them in pieces. The Countrey groaning a long time under this Calamity, the *Thebans* at laſt propounded the Kingdom as a reward unto him that could interpret the Riddles of *Sphynx*,

there being no other way to deſtroy her: Whereupon, *Oedipus* (a Man of piercing, and deep Judgment, but Maimed and Lame, by reaſon of holes bored in his Feet,) moved with the hope of ſo great a Reward, accepted the condition, and determined to put it to the hazard; and ſo with an undaunted and bold Spirit, preſented himſelf before the Monſter; who asked him what Creature that was, which after his Birth, went firſt upon four Feet, next, upon two, then upon three, and laſtly, upon four Feet again; anſwered forthwith, that it was Man; which in his Infancy, immediately after Birth, crawls upon all four, ſcarce venturing to creep, and not long after, ſtands upright upon two Feet; then growing old, he leans upon a Staff wherewith he Supports himſelf, ſo that he may ſeem to have three Feet; and at laſt, in decrepid years, his ſtrength failing him, he falls groveling again upon four, and lies bed-rid. Having therefore by this true Anſwer gotten the Victory, he inſtantly ſlew this *Sphynx*, (and laying her Body upon an Aſs,) leads it, as it were, in Triumph; and ſo (according to the condition,) was created King of the *Thebans*.

This Fable contains in it no leſs wiſdom than elegancy, and it ſeems to point at Science, eſpecially that which is joyned with practice, for Science may not abſurdly be termed a Monſter, as being by the ignorant and rude multitude always held in admiration. It is diverſe in ſhape and figure, by reaſon of the infinite variety of Subjects, wherein it is converſant. A maiden Face and Voice is attributed unto it for its gracious countenance and volubility of Tongue. Wings are added, becauſe Sciences and their Inventions do paſs and fly from one to another, as it were, in a moment, ſeeing that the communication of Science is as the kindling of one light at another. Elegantly alſo it is feigned to have ſharp and hooked Talons, becauſe the Axioms and Arguments of Science do ſo faſten upon the mind, and ſo ſtrongly apprehended and hold it, as that it ſtir

not

not or evade, which is noted alſo by the Divine Philoſopher, *Eccleſ.* 12. 12. *Verba ſapientum* (ſaith he) *ſunt tanquam aculei & veluti clavi in altum defixi.* The words of the wiſe are like Goads, and Nails driven far in.

Moreover, all Science ſeems to be placed in ſteep and high Mountains; as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon ignorance with a ſcornful Eye. It may be obſerved and ſeen alſo a great way, and far in compaſs, as things ſet on the tops of Mountains.

Furthermore, Science may well be feigned to beſet the High-way, becauſe which way ſoever we turn in this Progreſs and Pilgrimage of Humane Life, we meet with ſome matter or occaſion offered for Contemplation.

Sphynx is ſaid to have received from the Muſes, divers difficult Queſtions and Riddles, and to propound them unto Men, which remaining with the Muſes, are free (it may be) from ſavage cruelty; for ſo long as there is no other end of Study and Meditation, than to know, the Underſtanding is not racked and impriſoned, but enjoys Freedom and Liberty, and even doubts and variety, find a kind of pleaſure and delectation: But when once theſe *Ænigma's* are delivered by the Muſes to *Sphynx*, that is, to practice, ſo that if it be ſollicited and urged by Action, and Election, and Determination; then they begin to be troubleſome and raging; and unleſs they be reſolved and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the minds of Men, diſtracting, and in a manner rendrng them into ſundry parts.

Moreover, there is always a twofold condition propounded with *Sphynx* her *Ænigmaes*: To him that doth not expound them, diſtraction of mind; and to him that doth, a Kingdom; for he that knows that which he ſought to know, hath attained the end he aimed at, and every Artificer alſo commands over his work.

Of *Sphynx* her Riddles, they are generally two kinds; ſome concerning the nature of things, others touching the nature of Man. So alſo there are two kinds of Empires, as rewards to thoſe that reſolve them. The one over Nature, the other over Men; for the proper and chief end of true Natural Philoſophy is to command and ſway over Natural Beings; as Bodies, Medicines, Mechanical Works, and infinite other things; although the School (being content with ſuch things as are offered, and priding it ſelf with Speeches) doth neglect realities and works, treading them as it were under foot. But that *Ænigma* propounded to *Oedipus* (by means of which he obtained the *Theban* Empire) belonged to the Nature of Man: For whoſoever doth throughly conſider the Nature of Man, may be in a manner the contriver of his own Fortune, and is born to command, which is well ſpoken of the *Roman's* Arts:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, *memento.*
Hæ tibi erunt Artes ———

Roman remember, that with Scepters awe
Thy Realms thou rule. Theſe Arts let be thy Law.

It was therefore very appoſite, that *Auguſtus Cæſar* (whether by Premeditation, or by a Chance) bare a *Sphynx* in his Signet: For he (if ever any) was famous not only in Political Government, but in all the courſe of his Life; he happily diſcovered many new *Ænigmaes* concerning the Nature of Man, which if he had not done with dexterity and promptneſs, he had often-times faln into imminent Danger and Deſtruction.

Moreover, It is added in the Fable, that the Body of *Sphinx*, when ſhe was overcome, was laid upon an Aſs; which indeed is an elegant Fiction, ſeeing there is nothing ſo acute and abſtruſe, but (being well underſtood,

ſtood, and divulged,) may be well apprehended by a ſlow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that *Sphynx* was overcome by a Man lame in his Feet; for when Men are too ſwift of Foot, and too ſpeedy of Pace, in haſting to *Sphynx* her *Ænigma's*, it comes to paſs, that (ſhe getting the upper hand) their Wits and Minds are rather diſtracted by Diſputations, than that ever they come to command by Works and Effects.

PROSERPINA, or Spirit.

PLUTO, they ſay, being made King of the Infernal Dominions, (by that memorable Diviſion,) was in deſpair of ever attaining any one of the Superiour Goddeſſes in marriage, eſpecially if he ſhould venture to Court them, either with Words, or with any amorous Behaviour; ſo that of neceſſity he was to lay ſome Plot to get one of them by Rapine: Taking therefore the Benefit of Opportunity, he caught up *Proſerpina* (the Daughter of *Ceres*, a beautiful Virgin,) as ſhe was gathering *Narciſſus-Flowers* in the Meadows of *Sicily*, and carried her away with him in his Coach to the Subterranean Dominions; where ſhe was welcomed with ſuch Reſpect, as that ſhe was ſtiled the Lady of *Dis*. But *Ceres*, her Mother, when, in no place ſhe could find this her only beloved Daughter, in a ſorrowful Humour, and diſtracted beyond meaſure, went compaſſing the whole Earth, with a burning Torch in her hand, to ſeek, and recover this her loſt Child. But when ſhe ſaw that all was in vain, ſuppoſing peradventure, that ſhe was carried to Hell, ſhe importuned *Jupiter* with many Tears and Lamentations, that ſhe might be reſtored unto her again; and at length, prevailed thus far, That if ſhe had taſted of nothing in Hell, ſhe ſhould have leave to bring her from

from thence. Which Condition was as good as a Denial to her Petition, *Proſerpina* having already eaten three Grains of a *Pomegranate*: And yet, for all this, *Ceres* gave not over her Suit, but fell to Prayers and Moans afreſh: Wherefore, it was at laſt granted, that (the Year being divided) *Proſerpina* ſhould by alternate Courſes, remain one ſix Months with her Husband, and other ſix Months with her Mother. Not long after this, *Theſeus*, and *Perithous*, in an over-hardy Adventure, attempted to fetch her from *Pluto*'s Bed; who, being weary with Travel, and ſitting down upon a Stone in Hell, to reſt themſelves, had not the Power to riſe again; but ſat there for ever. *Proſerpina* therefore remained Queen of Hell, in whoſe Honour there was this great privilege granted, That although it were enacted, that none that went down to Hell ſhould have the power ever to return from thence; yet was this ſingular exception annexed to this Law, That if any preſented *Proſerpina* with a Golden Bough, it ſhould be lawful for him to go and come at his pleaſure. Now there was but one only ſuch a Bough in a ſpacious and ſhady Grove, which was not a Plant neither of it ſelf, but budded from a Tree of another kind, like a Rope of Gum, which being pluckt off, another would inſtantly ſpring out.

This Fable ſeems to pertain to Nature, and to dive into that rich and plentiful efficacy and variety of ſubalternal Creatures, from whom whatſoever we have is derived, and to them doth again return.

By *Proſerpina*, the Ancients meant that Æthereal Spirit, which (being ſeparated from the upper Globe) is ſhut up and detained under the Earth (repreſented by *Pluto*) which the Poet well expreſt thus:

Sive recens tellus, ſeductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat ſemina cœli.

Whether

Whether the Youngling *Tellus* (that of late
Was from the high-rear'd *Æther* ſeparate)
Did yet contain her Teeming Womb within
The living Seeds of Heaven, her neareſt kin.

This Spirit is feigned to be rapted by the Earth, becauſe nothing can with-hold it, when it hath time and leiſure to eſcape. It is therefore caught and ſtaid by a ſudden contraction, no otherwiſe than if a Man ſhould go about to mix Air with Water, which can be done by no means, but by a ſpeedy and rapid Agitation, as may be ſeen in Froth, wherein the Air is rapted by the Water.

Neither is it elegantly added, that *Proſerpina* was rapt as ſhe was gathering *Narciſſus* Flowers in the Valleys, becauſe *Narciſſus* hath his Name from ſlowneſs or ſtupidity: for indeed then is this Spirit moſt prepared and fitted to be ſnatcht by Terreſtrial Matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and become as it were flown.

Rightly is *Proſerpina* honoured more than any of the other God's Bed-fellows, in being ſtiled the Lady of *Dis*, becauſe this Spirit doth rule and ſway all things in thoſe lower Regions, *Pluto* abiding ſtupid and ignorant.

This Spirit the power Cœleſtial (ſhadowed by *Ceres*) ſtrives, with infinite ſedulity, to recover and get again: For that Brand or burning Torch of *Æther* (which *Ceres* carried in her hand) doth doubtleſs ſignifie the Sun, which enlightneth the whole Circuit of the Earth, and would be of greateſt moment to recover *Proſerpina*, if poſſible it might be.

But *Proſerpina* abides ſtill; the Reaſon of which is accurately, and excellently propounded in the Conditions between *Jupiter* and *Ceres*: For, firſt, it is moſt certain there are two Ways to keep Spirit in ſolid and terreſtrial Matter; the one by Conſtipation and Obſtruction,

ſtruction, which is meer Impriſonment and Conſtraint; the other, by Adminiſtration, or proportionable Nutriment, which it receives willingly, and of its own accord: For after that the included Spirit begins to feed and nouriſh it ſelf, it makes no haſte to be gone; but is as it were, link'd to its Earth: And this is pointed at by *Proſerpina* her eating of *Pomegranate*; which if ſhe had not done, ſhe had long ſince been recovered by *Ceres* with her Torch, compaſſing the Earth. Now as concerning that Spirit which is in Metals and Minerals, it is chiefly perchance reſtrained by the ſolidity of Maſs: But that which is in Plants and Animals, inhabits a porous Body, and hath open Paſſage to be gone, in a manner, as it liſts, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reaſon of the Reliſh it finds in its entertainment. The ſecond Condition concerning the ſix Months Cuſtom, it is no other than an elegant Deſcription of the Diviſion of the Year; ſeeing this Spirit mix'd with Earth, appears above Ground in Vegetable Bodies During the Summer-Months, and in the Winter ſinks down again.

Now as concerning *Theſeus* and *Perithous*, and their attempt to bring *Proſerpina* quite away, the meaning of it is, that it oftentimes comes to paſs that ſome more ſubtil Spirits deſcending with divers Bodies to the Earth, never come to ſuck of any ſubalternal Spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and ſo to bring it away. But on the contrary are coagulated themſelves, and never riſe more, that *Proſerpina* ſhould be by that means augmented with Inhabitants and Dominion.

All that we can ſay concerning that Sprig of Gold is hardly able to defend us from the violence of the *Chymicks*, if in this regard they ſet upon us, ſeeing they promiſe by that their *Elixir* to effect Golden Mountains, and the reſtoring of Natural Bodies, as it were, from the Portal of Hell. But concerning Chymiſtry, and thoſe perpetual Suitors for that Philoſophical *Elixir*, we know certainly that their *Theory* is without grounds, and

and we ſuſpect that their Practice is alſo without certain reward. And therefore (omitting theſe) of this laſt part of the Parable, this is my Opinion, I am induced to believe by many Figures of the Ancients, that the conſervation and reſtauratiou of natural Bodies, in ſome ſort, was not eſteemed by them as a thing impoſſible to be attained, but as a thing abſtruſe and full of Difficulties, and ſo they ſeem to intimate in this place, when they report that this one only Sprig was found among infinite other Trees in a huge and thick Wood, which they feigned to be of Gold, becauſe Gold is the Badge of perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inſerted, becauſe this effect is to be rather hoped for from Art, than from any Medicine, or ſimple or natural means.

METIS. or Counſel.

THE Ancient Poets report, that *Jupiter* took *Metis* to Wife, whoſe Name doth plainly ſignifie Counſel, and that ſhe by him conceived. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her deliverance, devours both her and that which ſhe went withal, by which means *Jupiter* himſelf became with Child, and was delivered of a wondrous birth; for out of his head or brain came forth *Pallas* Armed.

The Senſe of this Fable (which at firſt apprehenſion may ſeem monſtrous and abſurd) contains in it a ſecret of State, to wit, with what policy Kings are wont to carry themſelves towards their Counſellors, whereby they may not only preſerve their Authority and Majeſty free and entire, but alſo that it may be the more extolled and dignified of the People: For Kings being as it were tied and coupled in a Nuptial bond to their Counſellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the affairs of greateſt importance, do yet detract nothing from their own Majeſty. But when

when any Matter comes to be cenſured or decreed (which is a birth) there do they confine and reſtrain the liberty of their Councellors; leſt that which is done ſhould ſeem to be hatcht by their Wiſdom and Judgment. So as at laſt Kings (except it be in ſuch matters as are diſtaſtful and maligned, which they always will be ſure to put off from themſelves) do aſſume the the honour and praiſe of all matters that are ruminated in Council, and, as it were, formed in the Womb, whereby the reſolution and execution (which becauſe it proceeds from power, and implies neceſſity, is elegantly ſhadowed under the Figure of *Pallas* Armed) ſhall ſeem to proceed wholly from themſelves. Neither ſufficeth it, that it is done by the Authority of the King, by his meer will and free applauſe, except withal, this be added and appropriated as to iſſue out of his own Head or Brain, intimating, that out of his own Judgment, Wiſdom, and Ordinance, it was only invented and derived.

The SYRENS, or Pleaſures.

THE Fable of the *Syrens* ſeems rightly to have been applied to the pernicious allurements of Pleaſure, but in a very vulgar and groſs manner. And therefore to me it appears, that the Wiſdom of the Ancients have with a farther reach or inſight ſtrained deeper Matter out of them, not unlike the Grapes ill preſs'd; from which, though ſome Liquor were drawn, yet the beſt was left behind. Theſe *Syrens* are ſaid to be the Daughters of *Achelous* and *Terpſichore* one of the Muſes. Who in their firſt being, were winged, but after raſhly entring into contention with the Muſes, were by them vanquiſhed, and deprived of their Wings. Of whoſe pluck'd out Feathers the Muſes made themſelves Coronets, ſo as ever ſince that time all the Muſes have

attired

attired themſelves with plumed heads, except *Terpſichore* only, that was Mother to the *Syrens*. The Habitation of the *Syrens* was in certain pleaſant Iſlands, from whence as ſoon as out of their Watch-Tower they diſcovered any Ships approaching, with their ſweet Tunes they would firſt entice and ſtay them, and having them in their Power would deſtroy them. Neither was their Song plain and ſingle, but conſiſting of ſuch variety of melodious Tunes ſo fitting and delighting the Ears that heard them, as that it raviſhed and betrayed all Paſſengers. And ſo great were the miſchiefs they did, that theſe Iſles of the *Syrens*, even as far off as Man can ken them, appeared all over white with the Bones of unburied Carcaſſes. For the remedying of this Miſery a double means was at laſt found out; the one by *Ulyſſes*, the other by *Orpheus*. *Ulyſſes* (to make experiment of his Device) cauſed all the Ears of his Company to be ſtop'd with Wax, and made himſelf to be bound to the Main Maſt, with ſpecial Commandment to his Mariners not to be looſed, albeit himſelf ſhould require them ſo to do. But *Orpheus* neglected and diſdained to be ſo bound, with a ſhrill and ſweet Voice, ſinging Praiſes of the Gods to his Harp, ſuppreſs'd the Songs of they *Syrens*, and ſo free'd himſelf from their Danger.

This Fable hath relation to Men's Manners, and contains in it a manifeſt and moſt excellent Parable: For Pleaſures do for the moſt proceed out of the abundance and ſuperfluity of all things, and alſo out of the delights and jovial contentments of the Mind; the which are wont ſuddenly, as it were, with winged Inticements to raviſh and rap mortal Men: But Learning and Education brings it ſo to paſs, as that it reſtrains and bridles Man's Mind, making it ſo to conſider the ends and events of Things, as that it clips the Wings of Pleaſure. And this was greatly to the honour and renown of the Muſes; for after that by ſome Examples, it was made manifeſt, that by the power of Philoſophy, vain Pleaſures might grow contemptible;

temptible; it preſently grew to great eſteem, as a thing that could raiſe, and elevate the Mind aloft, that ſeemed to be baſe, and fixed to the Earth, make the cogitations of the Men (which do ever reſide in the Head, to be æthereal, and as it were winged. But that the Mother of the *Syrens* was left to her Feet, and without Wings; that no doubt is no otherwiſe meant, than of light and ſuperficial Learning, appropriated and deſigned only to Pleaſures, as were thoſe which *Petronius* devoted himſelf unto, after he had received his fatal Sentence; and having his Foot, as it were, upon the Threſhold of Death, ſought to give himſelf all delightful Contentments; inſomuch, as when he had cauſed Conſolatory Letters to be ſent him, he would peruſe none of them, (as *Tacitus* reports; that ſhould give him Courage and Conſtancy;) but only read fantaſtical Verſes, ſuch as theſe are;

Vivamus, Mea Lesbia, atq; amemus,
Rumoreſque Senum ſeveriorum,
Omnes unius æſtimemus Aſſis.

My *Lesbia*, let us live and love;
Though wayward Dotards us reprove,
Weigh their Words light for our behove.

And this alſo:

Jura Senes norint, & quid ſit faſq; nefaſque,
Inquirant triſtes, Legumq; examina ſervent.

Let doting Granſire know the Law,
And right and wrong obſerve with awe:
Let them in that ſtrict Circle draw.

This kind of Doctrine would eaſily perſwade to take theſe plumed Coronets from the Muſes, and to reſtore the Wings again to the *Syrens*. Theſe *Syrens* are ſaid to

to dwell in remote Iſles; for that pleaſures Love Privacy, and retired Places, ſhunning always too much Company of People. The *Syren's* Songs are ſo vulgarly underſtood, together with the Deceits and Danger of them, as that they need no expoſition. But that of the Bones appearing like white Cliffs, and deſcried afar off, hath more Acuteneſs in it; for thereby is ſignified, that, albeit the Examples of Afflictions be manifeſt, and eminent; yet do they not ſufficiently deter us from the Wicked Enticements of Pleaſures.

As for the Remainder of this Parable, though it be not over-myſtical, yet it is very grave, and excellent: For in it are ſet out three Remedies for this violent, enticing Miſchief; to wit, Two from Philoſophy, and One from Religion. The firſt Means to ſhun theſe inordinate Pleaſures is, to withſtand, and reſiſt them in their beginnings, and ſeriouſly to ſhun all occaſions that are offered, to debauſh and entice the Mind, which is ſignified in that ſtopping of the Ears; and that Remedy is properly uſed by the meaner and baſer ſort of People, as it were, *Ulyſſes*'s Followers or Mariners; whereas more Heroick and Noble Spirits may boldly converſe even in the midſt of theſe ſeducing Pleaſures, if with a reſolved conſtancy they ſtand upon their Guard, and fortifie their Minds; and ſo take greater contentment in the trial and experience of this their approved Vertue; learning rather throughly to underſtand the Follies and Vanities of thoſe Pleaſures by Contemplation, than by Submiſſion: Which *Solomon* avouched of himſelf, when he reckoned up the multitude of thoſe Solaces and Pleaſures wherein he Swam, doth conclude with this Sentence,

Sapientia quoque perſeverabat mecum.

Wiſdom alſo continued with me.

Therefore theſe *Heroes*, and Spirits of this excellent Temper, even in the midſt of theſe enticing Pleaſures, can ſhew themſelves conſtant and invincible, and are able to ſupport their own vertuous Inclination, againſt all heady and forcible perſwaſions whatſoever; as by the example of *Ulyſſes*, that ſo peremptorily interdicted all peſtilent Counſel, and Flatteries of his Companions, as the moſt dangerous and pernicious Poyſons to captivate the Mind. But of all other Remedies in this caſe, that of *Orpheus* is moſt predominant: For they that chaunt and reſound the praiſes of the Gods, confound and diſſipate the Voices and Incantations of the *Syrens*; for Divine Meditations do not only in power ſubdue all ſenſual pleaſures; but alſo far exceed them in ſwiftneſs and delight.

FINIS.

THE CHARACTER OF Queen Elizabeth.

Written by way of Eſſay.

By the Lord *Verulam.*

QUeen *Elizabeth* was one, whom *Nature* and *Fortune* had made the Wonder of her *Sex*, and an Ornament to *Crowned Heads.* For the truth of this we need not appeal to the Teſtimony of any *Monk*, or of any ſuch like *Solitary Recluſe:* For tho theſe men write acutely, and have extraordinary Judgments; yet being wedded to, and byaſſed by their own Faction, they can never be faithful in tranſmitting a thing of this nature to Poſterity. But this is a Province that more properly belongs to men of the *firſt Rank*, to ſuch as have had the management of the *Government* in their own hands, and have been acquainted with the Secret Springs and motions of Civil Affairs. Every Age has look'd upon a *Female Government* as a Rarity; if *proſperous* as a Wonder; but if *proſperous* and *long*, almoſt as a Miracle. Whereas tho ſhe reign'd full four and forty years, yet ſhe outliv'd not her *happineſs.* Of the *happineſs* of her Reign I deſign to ſay ſomething, without run-

ning out into high Encomiums. For Praiſe indeed is the Tribute of *Men*, but Happineſs the Gift of *God*.

I take this to be the firſt ſtep to her *happineſs*, that from a Private condition ſhe was rais'd to the Adminiſtration of the *Regal Power*. Foraſmuch as 'tis a ſtanding Rule in the Morality and common Senſe of Mankind, that thoſe things are to be look'd upon as our greateſt happineſs, which come beyond our hope and expectation. But this is not what I mean. That which I aim at is this, that *Princes* who are bred up in *Courts* as the undoubted Heirs of a Crown are ſo far debauch'd by a ſoft, indulgent and effeminate Education, that they frequently become leſs capable of managing the State: Whereas thoſe have proved the beſt and moſt excellent Princes, who have been under the Diſcipline of both Fortunes. We need not to go far for inſtances, *Henry* the *Seventh* in *England*, and *Lewis* the *Twelfth* in *France*, within our own memory, and almoſt at the ſame time, mounted the Throne, not only from a private, but alſo from an Adverſe and haraſs'd Fortune; and the one prov'd famous for his *Prudence*, the other for his *Juſtice*. This was the Caſe of Q. *Elizabeth*; whoſe Fortune was as inconſtant at the firſt, as at laſt, when ſhe came to the Crown, it prov'd Conſtant and Even. For at her *Birth* ſhe was declar'd Heireſs to the Throne, afterwards diſinherited, and at laſt deſpiſ'd: during her *Brother's Reign* ſhe enjoy'd a more

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ſerene and favourable Fortune, but whilſt her *Siſter* ſway d the Scepter the Clouds and Storms return'd upon her again. Nor was ſhe advanc'd on a ſudden from a Priſon to a Throne, thereby to render her haughty after the Provocation of her Sufferings: But being reſtor d to her Liberty, and rais'd in her hopes, ſhe at laſt quietly and happily mounted the Throne, without any Oppoſition or Competitor.

Theſe things I have mention'd, to ſhew how careful *Divine Providence* was of this beſt of *Princes*, by preparing her for a Crown by ſuch methods of Diſcipline. Nor ought the misfortune of her *Mother* to Eclipſe the glory of her *Birth:* eſpecially ſince 'tis abundantly evident, that *Henry* the *Eighth* was engag'd in a new love before he gave way to his Anger againſt Q. *Ann:* nor is poſterity a ſtranger to the nature of that *King*, which was ſo very prone to Love and Jealouſie, and proſecuted both even with the effuſion of Blood. To this we may add, that ſhe was cut off by an Accuſation grounded on ſlight Conjectures, and on the improbable Teſtimony of a wicked Accuſer: all which was mutter d privately at that very time; and Q. *Ann* herſelf with an undaunted mind, and noble preſence, proteſted her innocence at the time of her Death. For having (as ſhe thought) got a faithful and generous Meſſenger, ſhe juſt before her execution diſpatcht him away with this Meſſage to the King; *That the King had very well obſerv'd, and would ſtill keep his promiſe good to her, that was now go-*

ing to be inveſted with new honors: ſince from a Private Perſon he rais'd her at firſt to the dignity of a Marchioneſs, and then advanc'd her to be the Partner of his Bed and Throne; and now, when he could raiſe her no higher on Earth, deſign'd to promote her an Innocent to the Crown of Martyrdom. But the Meſſenger durſt not tell this to the *King*, who was devoted to another Love, tho *Fame*, the Aſſerter of Truth, has tranſmitted it to *Poſterity*.

Another part of the Happineſs of Q *Elizabeth* ſeems to conſiſt in the Period and Courſe of time wherein ſhe reign'd: Not only that it was *Long*, but becauſe it was ſuch a Part of her Life, as was moſt fit for managing the Affairs of State, and governing a Kingdom. For ſhe was five and twenty years old when ſhe began her Reign (at which Age ſhe was out of her Guardians Juriſdiction) and ſhe continu'd to Reign to the 70th year of her Age. So that ſhe neither experienc'd what it was to be a *Minor*, and under a Governors power; nor did ſhe labour under the Inconveniences of an extreme and miſerable *Old Age*. An Age, which even to Private men brings too many troubles along with it; but to Kings, beſide the ordinary Miſeries of human Life, it comes attended with the Decay of their States, and is back'd with an *inglorious Exit*. For there has ſcarce been a King, that has liv'd to an extreme and infirm old Age, but what loſt much of that Power and Eſteem, which he formerly had. Of this we have a notable Inſtance in *Philip* the

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Second, King of *Spain*, a Prince very potent, and one very well skill'd in the Art of Governing: who in his latter days, labouring under the Impotency of old Age, deeply experienc'd the truth of what we aſſerted. He quitted all his Conqueſts in *France*, made a Peace with that Nation, and endeavour'd to do the ſame with others, that ſo he might leave all things in quiet and compos'd to his Succeſſors. On the other hand, Q. *Elizabeth*'s Fortune was ſo Conſtant and Vigorous, that no declenſion of Affairs follow'd her lively, tho declining Age. Nay more, for a ſtanding and moſt certain monument of her happineſs, ſhe died not before a Victory in *Ireland* had put an end to the Rebellion there, ſo ſhining and ſo uniform was her Glory in all its Parts! Beſides, I think it very material to reflect, over what ſort of People ſhe bore the ſway, for had her Government been over the *Palmyrenians*, or any other ſoft and unmanly Nation of *Aſia*, it had been a leſs wonder, ſince a *Female* in the Throne would be ſuitable enough to an *Effeminate* People, but to have all things move and be directed by a Woman's Nod in *England*, a Nation ſo fierce and warlike; this I ſay, juſtly raiſes our higheſt admiration.

But tho the *Genius* of her Subjects was ſo deſirous of War, and ſo impatient of Peace, yet this did not hinder her from maintaining it ſtrictly all her Reign. And this natural inclination of hers, join'd with ſucceſs, is what I reckon redounds to her higheſt Commendati-

on. For this conduc'd much to the Happineſs of her own Life, to the Honour of her Sex, and to the Peace and Quiet of her Conſcience. About the tenth year of her Reign, an Inſurrection was indeed attempted in the *North*, but it was ſoon huſh'd and ſuppreſs'd. All the reſt of her time *England* enjoy'd a ſecure and profound Peace. And I account it a moſt glorious Peace, upon theſe two accounts; which tho they make nothing to the *Merit*, yet contribute very much to the *Glory* of a Peace. The firſt is, that it appear'd the more Conſpicuous and Shining by the Calamities of its Neighbours, which were all in flame round about it. Another is, that even in the Bleſſings of Peace there ſtill remain'd ſo much martial Glory, as by its famous Actions not only retain'd, but likewiſe increas'd the honour of the *Engliſh* Nation. For the ſupplies ſent into the *Netherlands*, *France* and *Scotland*; the Voyages that were made to the *Indies*, and round the whole World; the Fleets that were ſent to infeſt *Portugal* and the Coaſts of *Spain*, and the *Iriſh* Rebels ſo often conquer'd and and cut off, were all ſufficient Teſtimonies, that *England* had [illegible]mitted and loſt nothing of its Ancient Glor[illegible]n the Field of War.

It was likewiſe an addition to her *Glory* and *Deſerts*, that by her timely ſupplies, the Neighbouring Princes were maintained in their Thrones; and the ſuppliant States, who by a conduct unbecoming Princes, were expos'd to the cruelty of their Miniſters, to the fury of

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the Rabble, and to all manner of Ravage and Slaughter, were at laſt reliev'd by her, and plac'd in that poſture of Affairs, wherein they now are. Nor were her *Counſels* leſs beneficial than her *Supplies:* witneſs her frequent admonitions to his *Catholick Majeſty*, to moderate the diſpleaſure he had conceiv'd againſt his Subjects in the *Netherlands*, and to reſtore them to that mildneſs of Government which they formerly enjoy'd: and witneſs her earneſt importunities with the Kings of *France*, putting them often in mind of the *Edicts* wherein they had promis'd to preſerve the Peace. It muſt indeed be acknowled'd that her advices prov'd ineffectual. For the common intereſt of *Europe* oppos'd the *firſt*, leſt the Ambition of *Spain*, freed as it were from its confinement, ſhould enlarge it ſelf (as affairs then ſtood) to the great prejudice of the Kingdoms and States of the Chriſtian World. And the *latter* was prevented by the Maſſacre of ſo many Innocent Perſons, who with their Wives and Children were butcher'd in their own Habitations by the barbarous Rabble, who like ſo many Beaſts of prey ſeem'd to be Animated, Armed, and ſent out by Publick Authority: So that the Blood which was ſhed cry'd aloud for *Revenge*, that the Kingdom, ſtain'd by ſo notorious a Villany, might be purg'd by mutual Slaughters and Bloodſhed. However ſhe perform'd the Office of a *Faithful*, *Prudent*, and *Generous Ally*.

There is ſtill another Reaſon, why we ſhould admire the peaceful Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, namely, becauſe the Peace which ſhe enjoy'd, was not owing to the inclination which the age ſhe liv'd in had to it, but wholly to her own Prudence and wiſe Conduct. She ſtruggled with an *Inbred Faction* at home, upon the account of Religion; and the ſtrength of the Kingdom, like the common Bulwark of all *Europe*, ſeem'd to oppoſe the growing Greatneſs of the *Spaniard*, and his Ambition ſo formidable at that time; ſo that upon theſe accounts, there was a ſufficient Cauſe of War: but by her Forces and Policy ſhe ſurmounted theſe difficulties. This was demonſtrated by one of the moſt memorable Events, that ever happened in the whole courſe of Affairs of our age. For when the *Spaniſh Armada* rode upon our Seas, to the terror of all *Europe*, with ſo much noiſe, and ſo much aſſurance of ſucceſs; it took not the leaſt Fiſher-boat, nor burnt the leaſt Cottage, nor ſo much as touched upon our Coaſt: but being routed in an Engagement, was diſpers'd by a miſerable flight, and with frequent ſtorms; and ſo left *England* and her Sea Coaſts in an unmov'd and undiſturbed Peace. Nor was ſhe leſs fortunate in diſappointing the ſecret Plots of her private Foes, than in Conquering and Routing the Forces of an open Enemy: For tho there were many Conſpiracies laid againſt her Life, yet were they moſt happily diſcovered and defeated. Nor was ſhe upon that account more fearful or anxious of

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the ſafety of her Perſon; her Guards were not increas'd, nor did ſhe confine her ſelf in her Palace, without appearing abroad: But ſecure of her ſelf, and truſting to her Subjects, ſhe remembered her *Deliverance*, but forgot the *Danger*, and alter'd nothing of her uſual Management and Behaviour.

It is likewiſe worthy our Obſervation, to conſider in what ſort of times ſhe flouriſh'd. For ſome Ages are ſo Barbarous and Ignorant, that Men have been Govern'd with as much eaſe, as a Shepherd drives and manages his Sheep: But this Princeſs liv'd in a moſt Learned and Polite Age; wherein it requir'd great parts and a high degree of Vertue to be excellent. A *Female Government* is likewiſe very often eclips'd by *Marriage*, and all the Praiſes and Conduct is beſtow'd upon the *Husband:* whilſt thoſe who live unmarry'd, have no ſharers or partners in their Glory. And in this was our Queen the more to be commended, in that her Throne ſtood upon no other *Baſis*, than what ſhe her ſelf had erected. She had no *Brother*, no *Uncle*, nor any other of the *Royal Family*, to partake of her Cares, or ſhare in her Government. But even thoſe whom ſhe did advance to any places of Truſt, were ſo manag'd and kept in ſuch awe, that each of them was ſolicitous how to pleaſe her; ſo that ſhe was always *Miſtreſs of her ſelf.* She was indeed *Childleſs*, and left no iſſue of her own Body to ſucceed her: But this has been the caſe of the moſt fortunate Princes, of *Alexander*

der the Great, of *Julius Cæsar*, of *Trajan*, and ſeveral others: which has been variouſly cenſur'd, and has always been a matter of Diſpute. For ſome have look'd upon it as a Diminution of *human Happineſs*, as if men could not be compleatly happy, unleſs they were ſo both in their own perſons, and in the propagation of their Species: but others have eſteem'd it as the greater Happineſs, becauſe then it ſeems to be compleat, when it is not any longer ſubjected to the various turns of Fortune: which 'tis impoſſible to ſecure, when a Poſterity is left behind.

To all this we may add her *Outward Embelliſhments*; ſhe was tall of *ſtature*, well ſhap'd in her Body, and had in her Face the mixture of *Sweetneſs* and *Majeſty*; and always enjoy'd a very *Sound Health*. Beſide all this, ſhe was ſtrong and vigorous to the very laſt, never experienc'd the Changes of Fortune, nor the miſeries of old Age, and at laſt by an eaſy and gentle death ſhe obtain'd that *Euthanaſia*, which *Auguſtus Cæſar* was us'd ſo paſſionately to deſire. This alſo is Recorded of *Antoninus Pius*, one of the beſt of Emperors, whoſe death ſeem'd to be nothing elſe but a quiet and ſweet ſlumber. Juſt ſo in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Diſtemper, there was nothing that was deadly, or ominous, or unſuitable to humane nature. She was not deſirous of Life, or impatient under Sickneſs, nor diſturb'd with the tortures of any Pain: No direful, no peſtilential Symptom appear'd, but every thing

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ſeem'd rather to prognoſticate the decay of Nature, than either the corruption or diſparagement of it For ſome few days before her Death, being weakened by the drineſs of her Conſtitution, and the cares of the Government, having not ſo much as drank any Wine, or taken any moiſt diet, ſhe was ſeiz'd with a *Dead Palſy*, but yet (which is not uſual in that Diſtemper) ſhe retained her Speech, her Senſe, and her Motion, tho not ſo brisk and lively as before. Nor was ſhe long in this condition, ſo that it did not ſeem to be the *laſt Act* of her Life, but rather the *firſt ſtep* to her Death. For tho 'tis eſteemed a miſery to live a long time in the loſs of the uſe of our faculties; yet to be prepar'd for Death, by a gradual decay of our ſenſes, is certainly a very ſweet and pleaſant *Diſſolution*.

Another remarkable addition to her *Happineſs*, is this, that ſhe was not only very happy in her own *Perſon*, but likewiſe in her Worthineſs of her *Miniſters* of *State*. For ſhe made choice of ſuch men, as this *Iſland* perhaps was never ſo happy in before But *God* that favours *Kings*, raiſes them up *Miniſters* and adorns their Minds.

There remain two *Poſthumous Felicities*, which ſeem to attend the more Noble and Auguſt Paſſages of her Life: The *one* is that of her *Succeſſor*, the *other*, that of her *Memory*. For ſhe has got ſuch a *Succeſſor*, who, tho by his *Maſculine Vertue*, and *Off ſpring*, and *late Acceſſion to the Throne*, he may excel and eclipſe her

her Glory; yet is ſo far a favourer of her *Name* and *Eſteem*, and is ſo willing to tranſmit her actions to poſterity, that he has made little alterations, either in the *choice* of *Miniſters*, or in the *method of Governing*. So that hardly any *Father* has been ſucceeded by his *Son*, with leſs noiſe, diſturbance or alteration. As for her *Memory*, 'tis ſo much in the mouths, and ſo freſh in the minds of all men, that *Death* ſeems to have extinguiſhed Envy, and put her Fame in a clearer light, and now the *Happineſs* of her *Memory* does as it were ſtrive to outvie that of her *Life*. For tho through mens love to any Party, or upon the account of the difference of Religion, any factious report may be ſpread abroad, yet 'tis ſuch as ſeems to be fearful of it ſelf, is not ſincere, and can never laſt long. And 'tis upon this account eſpecially that I have made this collection of things, that relate to her happineſs, and are marks of the Divine favour: that ſo no foul-mouthed Libeller might dare to ſtain ſo great bleſſings of God, by the venom of his ſcandalous Tongue. If any one ſhould now ſay, as one did to *Cæſar*, *quæ miremur, habemus; ſed quæ laudemus, expectamus; we do indeed ſee cauſe to Admire, but none to Praiſe*: to this I anſwer, that I look upon *Admiration* as the ſuperlative degree of *Praiſe*. Nor could that *Happineſs* we have been deſcribing, be attained by any, but ſuch as are ſupported and highly indulged by the Divine favour; and ſuch as in ſome meaſure by their *Morals* and

Vertue

Vertue are the Eſtabliſhers of their own *Fortune*. However I thought fit to ſubjoin ſome few hints with reſpect to thoſe *Morals* of the Queen, which ſeem to have been moſt expoſed to the laſh of malevolent Tongues.

In *Religion*, Q. *Elizabeth* was *Pious* and *Moderate*, *Conſtant* and *Steady*, and a profeſt Enemy to *Novelty*. As for her *Piety*, tho the chief ſtrokes of it appeared in the Actions and Affairs of State; yet ſome ſigns of it were to be ſeen in the courſe of her Life, and her ordinary Converſation. She was ſeldom abſent from *Divine Service*, either in her *publick or private Chappel*. She employed much of her time in reading the *Scriptures* and the *Writings* of the *Fathers*, eſpecially of S. *Auguſtin*. She compos'd ſome Prayers her ſelf, upon ſome occaſions, and for ſome extraordinary purpoſe. Whenever ſhe mentioned the name of *God*, even in ordinary diſcourſe, ſhe generally added the title of *Creator*; and ſhewed ſome ſort of humility and reverence in her looks and countenance, which I my ſelf have often obſerved. As for that which ſome have reported, that ſhe was ſo far from thinking of her *Mortality*, that ſhe could not endure to be told of *Old Age* or *Death*, it is abſolutely falſe: ſince ſhe her ſelf ſeveral years before her Death, would frequently with much facetiouſneſs call her ſelf *Old Woman*: and would often diſcourſe about the *Inſcription*, ſhe had a mind ſhould be on her *Tomb*: She gave out, that ſhe was no lover of Glory and

and pompous Titles, but only deſired her Memory might be recorded in a line or two, which ſhould very briefly expreſs her *Name*, her *Virginity*, the *time of her Reign*, *the Reformation of Religion*, *and her Preſervation of the Peace*. 'Tis true, in the flower of her Age before ſhe was paſt Child-bearing, when ſhe was importun'd by ſome to declare her *Succeſſor*, ſhe did make anſwer, *that ſhe could by no means endure to have a Shroud held before her Eyes while ſhe was living*. However, ſome few years before her Death, when ſhe was more thoughtful, and meditated (as 'tis probable) on her *Mortality*, as one of her boſom friends told her, that many and great Places and Offices of Truſt in the Commonwealth, would be too long vacant; ſhe roſe up, and with more than ordinary concern ſaid, *that ſhe was ſure her place would not long be Vacant*.

As for her *Moderation* in *Religion*, perhaps in this her *Character* will ſeem deficient, becauſe of the *ſeverity of thoſe Laws*, which were made againſt her Subjects of the *Romiſh Religion*; but we will produce ſuch things, as are well known to us, and carefully taken notice of by us. This is certain, that ſhe was always averſe from laying any conſtraint on mens Conſciences: but yet ſhe could not allow that the Government ſhould be endanger'd under the pretence of *Conſcience* and *Religion*. Hence it was that ſhe thought nothing but a certain deſtruction would enſue, if ſhe ſhould at the firſt grant a liberty and toleration

tion of two Religions by publick Authority, toa fierce and headſtrong people, who would ſoon upon their private Animoſities fall together by the ears. Even in the beginning of her Reign, when all things looked with a ſuſpicious face, ſhe kept ſome of the *Prelates*, which were of a more turbulent and factious ſpirit, Priſoners at large, tho ſhe had the Law on herſide: and to the reſt of both Orders, ſhe uſed not any ſharp inquiſition, but by a generous Connivance kept them under her Protection. This was the poſture of affairs at firſt. Nor did ſhe ſwerve much from this her *Clemency*, tho provoked by the Bull of *Excommunication*, thundered againſt her by *Pius the Fifth*. This indeed might have raiſed her indignation, and have been the occaſion of new modelling the State, but ſtill ſhe retained her own generous Temper. For this Prudent and Courageous Woman was not much moved at the noiſe of ſuch Threatnings, being ſecure of the Fidelity and Affection of her Subjects, and not fearing any harm from the *Romiſh Faction*, which was too weak to attempt any thing, unleſs ſeconded by a foreign Enemy.

But about the three and twentieth year of her Reign, the face of Affairs was quite chang'd. Nor is this Period of time, feigned to ſerve a turn only, but mentioned in the *Publick Records*, and engraven as it were in *leaves of Braſs*. Nor were her Subjects of the *Romiſh Religion* puniſhed with any ſeverity before that year

year, tho ſeveral Laws had formerly been enacted againſt them. But at this time it was by degrees diſcovered what vaſt and ambitious deſigns were laid by *Spain*, to conquer this Kingdom. A great part of this deſign was to raiſe a faction in the very heart of the Nation, which being no friends to the Government, and deſirous of alteration, ſhould join with the Enemy upon his Invaſion. This was hoped would be effected upon the difference there was in Religion: whereupon they reſolved to improve that breach, and Prieſts were ſent over from the young *Seminaries*, to raiſe and increaſe Mens Love for the *Romiſh Religion*, to teach and inforce the Validity of the *Popes Bull*, which abſolved the Queens Subjects from their Allegiance, and to excite and prepare the Minds of men for an Alteration in the Government.

Much about that time, *Ireland* was openly invaded, and the *Name* and *Government* of Queen *Elizabeth* vilified by various and Scandalous Libels; and affairs were in ſuch a ſtrange ferment, that they prognoſticated a greater Commotion. Nor indeed will I ſay, that every *Prieſt* knew of the deſign, or were conſcious of what was to be done, but certainly they were the wicked Inſtigators and Promoters of the Villany others were to commit. And this is certainly true, (as appears by ſeveral Confeſſions) that almoſt all the Prieſts, who were ſent into *England* from the year abovemention'd, to the thirtieth year of Queen

Elizabeth's

Elizabeth's Reign (wherein the Deſign of *Spain* and the *Romaniſts* was to be put in Execution, by that memorable preparation of a Fleet and Land-forces) I ſay tis certain, that all, who were ſent over within that time, among other things had this likewiſe in their Orders, That they ſhould inſinuate, *That Affairs could not laſt long in the ſame poſture; that they would put on a new Face within ſome ſhort time; and that the Pope and the Catholick Princes would take care of the* Engliſh *State, provided the* Engliſh *were not their own hinderance.* Nay, ſome of the Prieſts were manifeſtly engag'd in the Plots and Contrivances which were laid for the Subverſion and Ruin of the *Government:* and which is ſtill more, the whole Train of this Deſign was diſcover'd by Letters which were intercepted from all parts: wherein it was written, *That the Vigilancy of the Queen and her Council over the Catholicks would be baffled: For ſhe only ſeem'd concern'd, that the Faction ſhould not be headed by any Nobleman or Perſon of Quality; whereas the Deſign they laid was ſuch, as was carried on by Private Men of no Note; who never met and conſpir'd together in numbers, but order'd and diſpos'd all things in the private way of Confeſſion.* Theſe were the *Artifices* which were then us'd, and were ſo cuſtomary and familiar to thoſe Men, as might be ſeen in a freſh and parallel caſe.

In a time of ſo much danger, Queen *Elizabeth* was obliged by a kind of fatal neceſſity to enact ſevere Laws, thereby to reſtrain thoſe of

her Subjects, who being averſe to her Government, and grown paſt the hopes of being cur'd, began to grow rich by the private Life they led, being exempted from the charge and burden of publick Offices. The Original of this ſpreading Evil was charg'd upon the *Seminary Prieſts*; who were bred up in foreign parts, and maintain'd by the Charity and Benevolence of *Foreign Princes* the profeſt Enemies of the Realm: who had liv'd in places, where the beſt Titles they could beſtow on Queen *Elizabeth* were thoſe of, *Heretick, Excommunicated, and Damnable Fury*; who, tho they themſelves were not engag'd in treaſonable practices, yet were known to be the intimate Friends of ſuch as were guilty of thoſe Villanies, and who, by their Artifices and poyſonous Methods had depraved the very Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, which before was a ſweet and harmleſs thing; and had as it were infected it with a new kind of Ferment and pernicious Malignity. Whereupon the only Expedient to put a ſtop to this growing Evil was thought to be the prohibiting theſe Men from coming into the Land upon pain of Death; which was accordingly enacted in the ſeven and twentieth Year of her Reign. Nor did the Event it ſelf, when ſo great a Storm broke out upon, and threatned the Nation, in the leaſt take off from the Envy and Hatred of theſe Men, but rather increas'd it; ſo far had they diveſted themſelves of the Love they ow'd their Country. Afterwards when our fears

of

of *Spain* (the true occaſion of this ſeverity) were over and vaniſht; yet the Memory of the former times was ſo deeply fixt in the Minds and Senſes of moſt Men, and to have abrogated the Laws that were once made would have argued ſo much *Inconſtancy*, or to have ſlighted them would have been a ſign of ſo much *Indifferency*; that Queen *Elizabeth* as caſes then ſtood, did not think it ſafe for her ſelf, that things ſhould return to the ſame poſture they were in before the three and twentieth year of her Reign. To this may be added the *Induſtry* of ſome to increaſe the Revenues of the *Exchequer*, and the *Care* of thoſe *Miniſters of Juſtice*, who are us'd to mind no other Safety of their Country than what is contain'd in the Laws: both which requir'd and call'd loudly for the Laws to be put in Execution. However, ſhe (to the Glory of her good Nature be it ſpoken) did ſo far blunt the edge of the Laws, that but very few Prieſts ſuffer'd Death upon that account. Nor do we ſpeak this by way of defence, for theſe matters ſtand in need of none: ſince the whole Safety of the Nation depended upon this Conduct, and the Method and Meaſure of all this Severity was far from being bloody, and is a thing that no Chriſtian need to be aſham'd of; for it proceeded more from the Arrogance and Wicked Practices of others, than from any neceſſity the Nation lay under, and it ſtands for a Monument of Diſgrace to the *Romaniſts*. But not to forget what we firſt aſſerted, we

think we have abundantly demonſtrated, that ſhe was *moderate* in points of *Religion*, and that the Alteration which did happen, was not owing to her Nature, but to the Iniquity of the times.

Of her *Conſtancy* in *Religion* and the *Worſhip* thereof, the greateſt proof is, That with an undaunted Mind and little Aſſiſtance ſhe extirpated and abrogated the *Romiſh Religion*, as being diſagreeable to the *Word of God*, the *Primitive Purity*, and her own *Conſcience*: notwithſtanding in her *Siſter's Reign* it was eſtabliſhed by Publick Authority and a great deal of Care, and had taken deep root, and was ſtrengthned with the Conſent and Approbation of all that were in Authority and Places of Truſt. Nor did ſhe do this haſtily or in a heat, but cautiouſly and by degrees. The truth of which appears not only in her whole Conduct of Affairs, but alſo in that Anſwer which ſhe once made to a *Courtier* upon the like occaſion. For in the beginning of her Reign, when according to the Cuſtom the *Priſoners* were to be releas'd, to grace and honor her firſt Acceſſion to the Throne; as ſhe was going to Chappel ſhe was accoſted by a certain *Courtier*, who took more than ordinary freedom, being of a pleaſant and facetious Nature. He, either prompted to it by his own private Inclination, or ſet on by a Wiſer Head, deliver'd a *Petition* into her hand, and in a full Concourſe of People with a loud Voice expreſſed himſelf thus, *That there were ſtill four*

or

or five kept Priſoners, and that for no reaſon at all: That he came to petition for their Freedom, as well as for the reſt: That they were the Four Evangeliſts, and the Apoſtle S. Paul, *who had been long confin'd in an unknown tongue, as it were in a Priſon, and were not ſuffer'd to appear abroad in the World.* The Queen gave him this very cautious Reply, *That it was beſt to conſult them firſt, whether they were willing to have their Freedom yet, or no.* And thus ſhe kept every thing within her own Power, by giving ſuch a doubtful Anſwer to ſo ſurprizing a Demand. Nor did ſhe carry on things fearfully, and by fits and ſtarts, but gravely, orderly, and maturely: A Conference firſt had between the Parties, and a *Parliament* firſt call'd; and at laſt, within the compaſs of a year, ſhe ſo far order'd and eſtabliſh'd all things which concern'd *Religion*, that ſhe did not ſuffer the leaſt Tittle of them to be alter'd, during all her Reign. And it was always her Publick Admonition in almoſt every Seſſion of *Parliament*, that no Innovation ſhould be made in the *Diſcipline* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church*. Thus far of her Religion.

Now if any of the *graver Sort* ſhould object theſe *Levities*: "That ſhe was contented and "deſirous to be Admir'd, to be Courted, and "upon the Account of Love to be Prais'd and "Extoll'd; and that ſhe continu'd theſe Levi-"ties even to an Age wherein they were un-"becoming her. Yet if you take even theſe in a milder ſenſe, they are not without their due

due *Admiration*, ſince they are ſuch things, as often are to be found in the *fabulous Narrations* of Poets and others. Thus 'tis recorded of a certain Queen in the *Fortunate Iſlands*, who in her Court and Government entertain'd that ſoft thing call'd *Love*, and yet forbad *Luſt* to enter there. But if a harſher conſtruction ſhould be put upon them, yet they are to be admir'd, and that very highly too, ſince theſe *Softneſſes* caſt but little blemiſh on her *Fame*, and none at all upon her *Grandeur*; did no Injury to her Government, and hinder'd not the Publick Adminiſtration of Affairs. For theſe ſort of things are uſually joyn'd to the moſt Noted Fortune. But, to conclude this Eſſay; ſhe was certainly a *good*, *moral Princeſs*, and as ſuch ſhe deſir'd to appear: She was a hater of *Vice*, and ſtudy'd to grow famous by *honorable Methods*. And truly at the naming of her *Manners*, ſomething comes into my mind, which I will here declare. When ſhe had order'd an Expreſs to be written to her Embaſſador, concerning certain Inſtructions, which he was privately to impart to the Queen Mother of *France* at *Valois*, and her Secretary had incerted a certain Clauſe, that the Embaſſador to ingratiate himſelf the better ſhould ſay, *That they were two Female Princes, of whom, in the Management of Affairs, and in the Art and Skill of Governing, as great things were expected as from the beſt of Men*; ſhe could not endure the Compariſon, but order'd it to be ſtruck out, and ſaid, that *ſhe us'd quite different Arts*

and

and Methods in the Adminiſtration of the Government. And ſhe was extreamly pleas'd, when any one by chance dropt out ſuch an Expreſſion as this, *That ſhe would have liv'd and excell'd in the Eye of the World, tho ſhe had ſpent her days in a private and mean Station:* So deſirous was ſhe that nothing of her *Virtue* and *Praiſe* ſhould be owing to the *Grandeur* of her *Fortune.* But if I ſhould enter upon her Praiſes, either *Moral* or *Political*, or ſhould touch only upon her *Virtues*, which would be a Diſparagement to ſo great a Princeſs: or ſhould I endeavour to ſet them in their clear and proper light, I muſt run out into the *Hiſtory* of her Life, which requires more leiſure, and a larger Genius, than I can pretend to. For I have here given you her *Character* in ſhort. But it muſt after all be ſaid, That only *Time* will beſtow a true Encomium on this Excellent Woman: ſince no Age ſince the Creation, could ever ſhew her *Equal* in her own *Sex*, that was ſo fit to manage the Affairs of a State.

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